SPEECH

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

JOHN, EARL OF CLARE,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS OF IRELAND,

ON A MOTION MADE BY THE

EARL OF MOIRA,

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1798,

H. Fitzellion () Saul of House.
That an humble Address be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieute-

" nant to state, that as Parliament had confided to his Excellency extraordi-

" nary powers in order to support the Laws and defeat traiterous Combina-

"tions in this Country, we feel it our duty-as those powers have not pro-

" duced the defired effect—to recommend the adoption of fuch conciliatory

" measures as may allay apprehensions and discontent."

By Authority.

DUBLIN:

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JOHN LAKE OF CLARE

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MY LORDS,

AM happy to have an opportunity of discussing this subject with the noble Lord in this affembly; I know of none on which there has been fuch a feries of studied and persevering misrepresentation, and certainly very liberal contributions have been made to the Common stock, under the fanction and authority of the noble Earl's name. If we are to believe reports apparently well authenticated. which have been nearly avowed this night on his part, the noble Earl has twice brought forward this subject in the British House of Lords. His first proposition to that grave affembly was, to address his Majesty to interpose his gracious and paternal interference to allay the discontents subfisting in the kingdom of Ireland, which threatened the dearest interests of the British empire. One principal fource of Irish discontent he stated to be, that the Irish Catholics insisted on their right of fitting in both Houses of Parliament, from which they are precluded by the statute law of Ireland. Another cause of offence to the people, the noble Lord stated to be, that a Member of the Irish House of Commons had, uninvited and without any ap-

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parent necessity, started up in a debate and pronounced an absolute interdiction on the hopes and pretentions of Irish Catholics. That another member in the other House of Parliament had equally uninvited and without necessity, started up in his place, and pronounced a fweeping condemnation on the North of Ireland. I will not take upon me to fay what might have passed in the House of Commons, but I do, with perfect confidence, affure the noble Lord, that nothing has passed in this House since I have had the honour of sitting in it, which can give a shade of justice to an imputation thus cast on one of its Members. The noble Earl, if we are to credit written and verbal reports, for the authenticity of which I can in some fort vouch, has recently again brought forward the same subject in the same assembly, when without making a distinct proposition upon it, he certainly did in the accepation of plain understandings. pronounce a fweeping condemnation upon every department of the state, civil and military, in the kingdom of Ireland; when he did in the acceptation of plain understandings represent the executive government as acting wantonly on a system of infult and barbarity against an innocent and unoffending people, and the army of Ireland as active instruments in carrying it into rigorous and unrelenting execution. And let me here with the unfeigned respect which I feel for the name and character of a liberal and high minded gentleman, and a gallant foldier, put it to the noble Lord's good fense on cool and mature reflection, upon what principle

principle he could feel himself justified in passing by this . House of Parliament, of which he is a Member, and making an appeal to the British House of Lords, on a subject solely and exclufively cognizable by the Parliament of Ireland; let me put it to his good fense, upon what principle he could feel himself justified in pressing the British House of Lords to address his Majesty, to interpose the influence of the Crown to allay discontents in Ireland, which he stated to arise from the operation and effect of Irish statutes, an address of the British House of Lords to his Majesty to interpose the influence of the Crown to procure a repeal of Irish statutes, of deep and momentous import to the constitution of Ireland. Let me put it to his good fense, if he has not been traduced, upon what principle he can justify a rash an ill-advised affertion, that a member of this House had, uninvited and without necessity started up in his place, and pronounced a fweeping condemnation on the north of Ireland, and having made the affertion, urge it as a ground for an address of the British House of Lords to his Majesty, to interpose his authority against the effects of this affumed Parliamentary indifcretion in a peer of Ireland, or perhaps to prevent a repetition of it. And above all, upon what principle he could feel himself justified in a statement to the British House of Lords? that the executive Government of Ireland had taught the foldiery to confider and to treat the natives of this country indifcriminately as rebels, and under fuch a supposition, to goad them with wanton

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ton and unexampled infult and barbarity. That the obsolete feudal badge of servitude, the curfew, was now revived and established in all its rigour in Ireland, and enforced by the foldiery with unfeeling cruelty and infult. That the infamous and detestable principles and proceedings of the inquifition, had been introduced into Ireland, where the unhappy natives were put to the torture, to extort from them a confession of their own guilt or the guilt of others; where the unhappy natives were torn from their families and immured in prisons, ignorant of their accufers, and in a cruel state of uncertainty as to the period of their imprisonment, and the fate which awaited them. And that these complicated and unexampled excesses and extravagancies formed only a part of the system acted upon by the executive Government of Ireland, and encouraged by the British Cabinet. And these virulent and distorted exaggerations have passed into general circulation through the medium of every disaffected and feditious public print in Great Britain and Ireland, under the proffered folemnity of the noble Lords' oath. It remains for me publickly and distinctly to refute the foul and injurious charges of tyranny, injustice and oppression upon the people of Ireland which have been advanced against the British Cabinet and the British Nation, and against the Government and Parliament of Ireland; and in fo doing, I shall give the best answer to every thing which has fallen from the noble Lord this night.—It has long been the fashion of this country to drown the voice of truth and justice by noise and clamour and loud and confident

fident affertions; and fince the separation of America from the British empire, where the noble Lord well knows fome British politicians had successfully played a game of embarrassment against Lord North's administration, they have been pleased to turn their attention to Ireland, as a theatre of political warfare, and to lend their best countenance and fupport to every motley faction, which has reared its head in this country, to disturb the publick peace for the most felfish and mischievous purposes. When the noble Lord recommends conciliation as a remedy for the turbulent and distracted state of this country, with all respect for him, I must conclude, that his information flows from this polluted fource. If conciliation be a pledge of national tranquillity and contentment; if it be a spell to allay popular ferment, there is not a nation in Europe in which it has had fo fair a trial as in the kindom of Ireland. For a period nearly of twenty years, a liberal and unvaried fystem of concession and conciliation has been pursued and acted upon by the British Government. Concession and conciliation have produced only a fresh stock of grievances, and the discontents of Ireland have kept peace with her prosperity; for I am bold to fay, there is not a nation on the habitable globe, which has advanced in cultivation and commerce, in agriculture and in manufactures, with the fame rapidity, in the fame period. Her progress is now retarded, and it is a heart-breaking spectacle to every man who loves the country, to see it arrested

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only by the perverse and factious folly of the people. stimulated and encouraged by disappointed statesmen. British as well as Irish. When the noble Lord talks of conciliation as the certain means of tranquillizing the country, I call upon him to fay what fecurity he can give us for the accomplishment of his prefage. Does he speak from experience? Evidently not; experience is against him. When Lord North opened the trade of the British colonies and plantations to Ireland, Parliament declared itself fully gratified in terms of warm and affectionate fatisfaction; and be it remembered that fome of the loudest modern declaimers in the British Parliament for Irish emancipation, did then oppose this first relaxation in the fystem of commercial restrictions. imposed by British statutes upon Ireland, at the Revolution. In a few months however the voice of indignation and complaint was again heard in the Irish House of Commons, and although the encroachments on our conflitution and its defects which were then complained of, were generally admitted to exist, a considerable majority in both Houses of Parliament thought it unwise and impolitic to bring them forward in terms of anger and apparent hostility to Great Britain, more especially at a time when she laboured under the pressure of an extensive and calamitous war. An appeal was then for the first time preferred from the decision of Parliament to the armed Majesty of the People, and without any form or folemnity of trial, or deliberation, every gentleman of Ireland who hefitated to declare

declare open war against the Parliament of Great Britain, was denounced as an enemy to his country, by that candid and august tribunal. However, on a change of administration in 1782, the British Government determined to accede to the demands of Ireland, and adopted a proceeding which, of all others, seemed to be the most flattering and conciliatory to the Parliament and People. The Duke of Portland, by the King's command, fent down a mel's fage to both Houses, of Parliament, " That his Majefty was concerned to find that discontents and jealousies prevailed amongst his loving subjects of her land on matters of great weight and importance, and recommending that the same might be taken into lerlous confideration, in order to fuch final adjustment as might give mutual fatisfaction to Great Britain and Ireland." If ever there was a proceeding devised, which might afford a rational hope of quieting the apptehensions and relieving the exigencles of a distressed country, it was this appeal to their own testimony, for a knowledge of their complaints, to defire them to come forward and to state the r. Lafure of their calamities, and the best expedient for the relief of them. And accordingly the measure of concession and conciliation, demanded of Great Britain, for the final adjustment of all political controverly between the two kingdoms, and for their mutual and lasting satisfaction, was framed on the declared fense of the Irish Opposition-Cabinet; for on looking into the Journals it will be found; that the addresses in answer to his Majesty's most Said gracious

gracious and conciliatory message, were moved and voted by way of amendment, proposed by the leaders of the popular cause in both Houses of Parliament. And the noblemen and gentlemen who undertook the office of pointing out the grievances of Ireland, for a redrefs which was to lead to a final adjustment of all political divisions between this kingdom and Great Britain, confined them, "To the usurped claim of the British Parliament to make laws for Ireland: to the appellant jurisdiction exercised by the British House of Lords: to the practice of suppressing Bills in the Council of Ireland, or of altering them any where, and to a Perpetual Mutiny Law." In the progress of the same Session, a communication was made to both Houses of Parliament, in a speech from the Throne by the Duke of Portland, " that the British Parliament had paid immediate attention to our representation, and that his Majesty would graciously give his Royal Assent to fuch Bills as might be necessary to give them full effect?' To this communication, an answer was made by an Address of both Houses of Parliament to his Majesty, and to the Duke of Portland. This Address was also framed by the Cabinet of Opposition. The noblemen and gentlemen who had originally taken upon them the office of pointing out the constitutional grievances of Ireland, were the movers of it, and did with peculiar eloquence express the acknowledgments of the Parliament and People of Ireland, for the prompt and dignified attention which

which had been paid to their representations. In the Address moved by them, and adopted by both Houses, they assured his Majesty, that "We were fully fensible of the magnanimity of his Majesty, and of the wisdom of his Parliament of Great Britain, in feconding his Majesty's most gracious intentions to this kingdom, without any stipulation or condition whatfoever, and that his Majesty might have the firmest reliance upon the faith, generosity and honour of the Irish nation. That as it is their undoubted interest, so it is their warmest wish, to promote and perpetuate the harmony, stability and glory of the British empire; and that the same spirit which induced them to affert their right to share the freedom of Great Britain, will confirm them in a determination to share her fate also, standing and falling with the British nation." The Commons went a step beyond this House: they assured his Majesty, " that from thenceforward no constitutional question could by possibility arife to interrupt the harmony fo happily established bebetween Great Britain and Ireland," and voted the enormous fum of fifty thousand pounds, out of the public purse, as a gratuity to the Gentleman who had thus pledged himself and pledged Parliament to a final fettlement of constitutional grievances between the two countries, a fettlement so complete and fatisfactory, as to render a revival of political or conflictutional controversies utterly impossible. This Address was echoed with unbounded applause from end to end of the kingdom, and the founders of the new Irish Constitution, were, for the short period of Milde a few

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a few weeks, the idols of the People. Unfortunately, in that fhort interval, all harmony was at an end. A Gentleman of distinguished ability discovered, that the simple repeal of a declaratory law, did not contain a renunciation of the principle which had been declared; from whence he argued, that our new Constitution was a bubble, that the Irish nation had been duped by the British Minister and Parliament, and that the noblemen and gentlemen who had undertaken Irish emancipation (it was at this period I think the phrase got into use) acquiefoing in the deception, must be considered as accomplices in the treachery of Great Britain. To this abstract proposition, and to the inference drawn from it, immediate and general affent was given, and a gentleman who had been raifed to the pinnacle of popular favour and applaufe, for acknowledged public fervices, instantly became the subject of popular execration, and was loaded with foul and most unmerited calumny and abuse, for no other reason than his refusal to concur in committing the Parliament of this country in a quarrel with the British nation, upon this abstract rule of interpretation which was affumed to apply to all declaratory flatutes, and to establish unequivocally the infincerity of Great Britain. It is not necessary now to examine the merits of the abstract legal question, but this I do not scruple to fay, that nine hundred and minetynine men in one thousand; who so loudly condemned the act of Simple Repeal, were utterly incapable of forming an opinion on the fubject; and that

that if from the fame authority they had been told, that an act of Renunciation was an infult to the nations inafmuch as it implied an existing principle to be renounced, the men who fo loudly condemned a fimple repeat, would have been equally noify against renunciation. But I should have hoped that this gross and glaring instance of popular levity would have taught the fober part of the community, and more especially the gentlemen who had well nigh fallen victims to it, the imminent hazard of inflaming the popular mind upon abstract political topics, and of making appeals to the majefty of the people. for the redrefs of speculative political grievances. At the fame period the majesty of the people was a fecond time affronted. We had in the warmth of our gratitude, and before the simple repeal bubble had been discovered, voted away almost every ragiment of infantry on the Irish establishment, for the fervice of the Empire, infomuch that there were not foldiers left in the country for common garrison duty. The Duke of Portland, with no other possible view than to provide for the necessary fervice of the kingdom, on terms the most economical, raised four provincial regiments to be disbanded at the conclusion of the war. This was construed to be an infidious scheme of the British Government, to undermine the popular institution of Volunteers. If so many regiments of the line had been raised, and the establishment had been incumbered with half-pay for the officers. I prefume the majefty of the people would not have been offended; but a fencible regi-40 st ment

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ment was new in Ireland, and without further enquiry or confideration, this necessary act of public duty, adopted by the Duke of Portland upon a mere principle of public economy, was generally and loudly condemned as a fresh instance of British infincerity. It happened foon after the Duke of Portland had quitted the Government of this kingdom, that the Judges of the Court of King's Bench at Westminster, gave their judgment upon a record removed by writ of error brought there, from the King's Bench of Ireland; and no man who knows the law will fay, that they could have done otherwise. They found a record removed into their Court by authority of the King's writ, and finding it there; they could not avoid giving judgment upon it. This however raised a new ferment in Ireland, and this judicial act of Lord Mansfield and his brethren, was represented here as a direct violation of British faith, and an open and unequivocal attack upon the Irish constitution, Lord Buckingham was then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and although I was not then a fervant of the Crown, having lived in early habits of friendship and intimacy with him, I can from my knowledge state, that with a firm conviction that Great Britain had always intended, fully, fairly, and unequivocally to renounce all legislative and judicial authority over this country, he felt the warmest anxiety to fatisfy the people of Ireland that their fuspicions were unfounded; that whether the act by which the British Parliament yielded their legislative claims,

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was an act of simple repeal, or an act of renunciation, they might and ought to place full and firm confidence in the faith and honour of Great Britain as their belt fecurity; but it was flated to him that there were British statutes unrepealed made for the protection of trade, particularly to the East Indies, by which penalties were inflicted upon Irish subjects for breach of them committed in this country, and that fuits for the recovery of these penalties were, by the fame statutes, cognizable in the King's fuperior Courts at Westminster; and it was stated to him that the mere repeal of the declaratory act of the 6th Geo. I. would not be fufficient to bar any fuit which might be fo instituted, but that an act of renunciation would be construed by the English judges as a virtual repeal of all laws theretofore made which imported to bind Ireland. Lord Buckingham therefore plainly faw that fuch an act was necessary for the peace of both countries, and warmly recommended to the British Government to have it proposed in Parliament. Accordingly a Bill was introduced into the British House of Commons I believe by his brother, now Lord Grenville, which paffed into a law without opposition, renouncing in terms the most unequivocal all legislative or judicial authority in Ireland, declaring the right of the people of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted by their Parliament, and barring all writs of error or appeals from judgments or decrees in Ireland, to any British judicature; and I very much fear there are men in this country, who never have forgiven Lord received Buckingham

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Buckingham for the part which he took, in advining a measure so necessary to the peace of Great Britain and Ifeland. It might reasonably have been expected that the people of Ireland, being gratified on the point of renunciation would have taken breath, and fuspentled at least their constitutional labours. But the moment the act of renunciation was obtained, a new grievance occurred, and it was discovered that in order to fecure the new constitution of Ireland; it was necessary to alter the frame of the representative body by which in effect it had been established a and the people being then felf-arrayed and armed. after due deliberation, it was determined to elect a military convention to meet in the metropolis, as the fureft, most efficacious, and constitutional organ, through which to convey the fenfe of the nation upon the fubject of parliamentary reform. This Convention affembled with confiderable military pomp and parade at the City of Dublin, and having affumed to itself all the forms and functions of a House of Parliament, a bill for the reform of the reprefentation of the people was regularly prefented, read a first and second time, committed, reported, and agreed to, and being engroffed, was feat at the point of the bayonet by two members of the Convention, who were also members of the House of Commons, to be registered by that affembly. The House of Commons treated this infult with the indignant contempt which it merited, and the men who had been betrayed into fuch an act of contumacious folly awed by the rebuke which they medipulsio received

received from the House of Commons, and by the firmness of Lord Northington, difpersed and returns ed to the places from whence they had come, many of them much ashamed of their rathness and intemperance. And he it also remembered, that one of the loudest modern declaimers in the British Parlin ment for Irish emancipation, was then a Cabinet Minister of Great Britain, and that he did then with all the energy and ability which distinguish him, most emphatically state his opinion to Lord Northington, that the existence of legitimate gos vernment in Ireland, depended on the difpersion of this Convention, and that her connection with the British Crown depended on preserving the frame of the Irish House of Commons as it then stood, unaltered and unimpaired. After the dispersion of this Military Convention, we had a short respite from popular ferment on the ground of constitutional grievances, but a new topic of discontent was started. It was difcovered that the manufactures of Great Britain were imported into this country upon terms which gave them a preference in the Irish market,-a preference by the way which superior excellence alone can give them, and the remedy proposed for this grievance was, that we should commence a war of prohibitory duties, although it was notorious that the balance of trade between Great Britain and Ireland was very confiderably in our fayour, and that if the Parliament of Ireland had been fo infatuated as to yield to popular outery upon this subject, we had not the means of manufacturing woollen # Sabjecton

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woollen cloth in this country, nearly fufficient for the use of its inhabitants. The discussion of this question, however, led to the memorable treaty in 1785, if I may so call it, between the Parliaments of both countries, for a final adjustment of the commercial intercourse between this country and Great Britain, and the British colonies and plantations, when a fair and liberal offer was made by Great Britain to open her markets, and to share her capital with this country; to give to Ireland a perpetual right of trading with her colonies and plantations upon the terms only of our adopting the laws which the enacts for regulating her navigation and trade with them. This offer was wifely rejected by the Irish House of Commons, under a filly deception put upon the people of Ireland, who were taught to believe, that the offer thus made to them was an infidious artifice of the British Minister to revive the legislative authority of the British Parliament, which had been fo recently and unequivocally renounced. and under this gross and palpable deception were the folid interests of Great Britain and Ireland, their mutual peace and harmony, and indiffolvable connection facrificed in the House of Commons of Ireland, on the altar of British and Irish faction. If any thing could have opened the eyes of the nation what passed within two Sessions from 1785, ought to have exposed the dupery practifed upon them at that period. In the interval, Great Britain thought it necessary to extend the principle of her navigation acts to thips British and Irish built; and in 1787,

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the Parliament of Ireland did without hesitation adopt this new act of navigation, and declared all the former British acts of navigation to be of force in this country, a point which fome perfons had before that time affected to question. And there is no real friend of Ireland who can doubt that it is her interest to follow Great Britain in her code of Navigation Laws; there is no real friend of Ireland who can doubt that it is her interest to follow Great Britain in her Code of Laws for regulating her trade with the British colonies and plantations, for on no other terms can we be permitted to trade with them. There must be one lystem of imperial policy throughout the British empire, and if we are to remain a part of it, it is idle to suppose that the Parliament of Ireland can ever enact laws in opposition to any principle of imperial policy adopted by Great Britain.

Unhappily in 1789, a new occasion arose upon which the Parliament of this country. thought fit to act upon the most critical imperial question which could have arisen, not only without regard to what had passed upon the same subject in Great Britain, but with direct and avowed hostility to the Parliament and Government of that country. I pass by the events of that disastrous period, and shall only fay, that the intemperate, illegal, and precipitate conduct of the Irish House of Commons upon that critical and momentous occasion, has, in my opinion, in all its confequences, shaken to its foundations our boasted constitution, and eminently contributed to bring this berate D country

country into its present dangerous and alarming fituation. It is in the recollection of us all, that at the conclusion of the fession of 1789, nothing was left untried by Lord Buckingham to reftore peace, and to conciliate those who had acted with marked perfonal hostility to him, fo far as he could go without a breach of public duty. If he was capable of harbouring private refentment for unprovoked personal injuries offered to him, he had the magninimity to facrifice his feelings to an anxious folicitude for the peace of Ireland; and I have often lamented that his efforts proved unfuccefsful, and that he was compelled much against his will, to displace some old servants of the Crown who had opposed his Government with warmth, and not only avowed their determination to perfift in the fame opposition, but declined with fullen indignation even to hold communication with him. And if the confidential fervants of the Crown are to oppose his Majesty's Government, and to deeline all communication with his Ministers, I am at a loss to know how it can exist. The first step which was taken in confequence of this political fchifm by gentlemen who had been the fole authors of it, was to found a political club for the reformation of alledged public abuses and political gries vances. The first society of that class which I believe had existed in this country; certainly it is the first within my memory. This political inftitution was announced to the world by a manifesto figued and counterfigued, in which the British Goverament was charged in direct terms with a deliberate

berate and fystematic conspiracy to Subvert the ilberties of Ireland. The basis of it was, a solemn resolution to preserve the constitution of the realm as fettled by the revolution in Great Britain and Ireland in 1668, and re-effablished in Ireland in 1782; and all persons of congenial sentiments and principles were invited to repair to the standard thus raifed for the protection of the constitution as fettled by the revolution of 1688. The public measures proposed by this society in this their first manifesto were, as I recollect, a place bill, a penfion bill, and what was called a responsibility bill; measures which I have seen resisted warmly by fome members of this fociety when I fat in the House of Commons. In the succeeding sessions of Parliament, they were brought forward facceffively and repeatedly, and were fuccessively and repeatedly rejected; the place bill then proposed, was nearly a transcript of that which has fince been adopted; the pension bill authorised an application of eghty thousand pounds yearly by the Crown to penfions; and would if then adopted, have been the fole appropriation of the Public Revenue in Ireland; and the responsibility bill, as it was called, would have constituted an executive directory, by erecting a commission composed of five public officers, with full power to controll the Crown in the exercise of its vital functions; but in discussing the merits of these bills, the debates of the House of Commons were conducted with a degree of heat and acrimony atterly unbecoming the gravity and decorum of a legislative assembly. If we are to credit

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dit the Newspaper reports of the debates which were carried on in that House at this period, they exhibit a feries of coarse and acrimonious, and disgusting invective, suited only to the meridian of . Billingsgate, and displayed to the people a picture of their representatives from their own pencil, little calculated to inspire them with confidence or refpect. What was the confequence? The people foon subscribed to the opinions which their Reprefentatives had promulgated, and gave them all full credit for the villainous charges which they had advanced against each other; they had been taught to believe, as often as the political views of contending parties were answered by the suggestion, that Great Britain was the natural rival and enemy of this country; that the was infincere in all the concessions which had been made to Ireland, and waited only an opportunity to recal them. That our connection with the British Crown was a fource of national depression, and finally that a deliberate and fystematic conspiracy had been formed by the British Government to subvert the liberties of the Irish nation. For the truth of these affertions let me refer every dispassionate man to the detail with which I have already troubled your Lordships, and for their wisdom, to subsequent events intimately connected with them; to a felf-degraded House of Commons the people were not likely to appeal for relief, against a deliberate and systematick British conspiracy, formed to subvert their liberties. In a political

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political club composed of some of the leading members of that affembly, they could not be fupposed very forward to put implicit confidence, and therefore, with minds enflamed against the British name and nation, they looked to political clubs of their own; not to procure a place bill, or a pension bill, or a responsibility bill, but to cut off the fource of all past and future aggressions, by subverting the monarchy, and feparating this country for ever from Great Britain. The corner stones of this wife and falutary project were, " Catholic Emanci-" pation and Parliamentary Reform;" which with a little foreign assistance, when the country should be ripe for it, it was hoped, would infallibly enfure its success. Accordingly in the year 1791, a new political club was formed in the metropolis, connected at its institution with similar affiliated clubs at Belfast and Cork, which was also announced by a manifesto directed, not against British ministers, but against the British nation, stating what was felt as the real grievance of Ireland, and known to be its effectual remedy, "That Ireland had no national government, that she was ruled by Englishmen and the fervants of Englishmen; filled in commerce and politicks with the narrow prejudices of their country." This is the grievance; now mark the remedy.—After fcouting the measure of place bill, refponsibility bill and pension bill as utterly inadequate to the disease, they resolve that to cut it up by the root, the representation of the people must be reformed by a general extension of the elective franchile

chife, and that a general union amongst all the people was effentially necessary to counteract the weight of British influence. To effect which Union against Great Britain, an abolition of all religious distinctions in the state was indispensible, -An appeal followed to the volunteers of Ireland, befeeching them to resume their arms, and to establish in fact, as they had in theory restored, the independence of Ireland, and a general recommendation to form fimilar focieties in every quarter of the kingdom, for the promotion of constitutional knowledge, and the differnination of genuine whig principles. The object of this political affociation feems to be unequivocally avowed in this their first manifesto. However a full explanation of it by the author has been twice verified on oath before a fecret committee of this House; in which it is distinctly avowed that this Irish Union was originally projected by Mr. Tone, who is now a fugitive for treason, for the sole purpose of separating this kingdom from the British crown; and the fame project is even more distinctly avowed in the paper quoted by the noble Baron who fpoke second in the debate. Immediately a general outcry was raifed of commiseration and love for the Catholics of Ireland; in which for the first time since the Reformation a great body of the Protestant Dissenters joined; and Catholic Emancia pation and Parliamentary Reform went forth as the watch words of innovation and treason; and the fystem of innovation and treason has been pursued from that time, I am forry to fay with equal affiduity. and

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and faccefs. I have often lamented that this neft of conspirators calling themselves United Irishmen was fuffered to establish itself unmolested in the metropolis; and that the magistrates of the city of Dublin for tong delayed any interpolition on their part to relieve the Community from fuch a nuilance. If they had been dispersed on their first appearance, much public mischief would have beeen prevented. The first object of this Jacobin institution was, to detach the Catholics of Ireland from a committee composed of the principal noblemen and gentlemen of their cummunion, and to place them under the management of a Directory composed of men of a very different description. They faw that so long as the great body of Catholics were directed by men of rank and fortune and approved loyalty, their allegiance had temained unquellioned; and that under fuch influence, it would be a vain attempt to shake it. Your Lordships well recollect the gross and unpardonable ribaldry with which the public prints teemed against the late Lord Kenmare at the fuit of this new Directory, for no other reason than that he had prefumed to disapprove a tone of jacobinism and disloyalty which they had assumed, and would have induced them to prefer their claims, in terms of duty and respect to the Legislature Under this Directory a complete fystem of Democracy was established for the Government of the Catholics of Ireland, and through the mediation of Mr. Tone and his Jacobin affociates at Belfalt, an alliance was negociated with the Diffenters of the northern province, alldut

province, who were given to understand that for concurrence in the fystem of religious Emancipation, they might expect cordial and decifive support from the body of the Catholics in the grand project of Parliamentary Reform, or in other words, of Anarchy and Democracy. To forward this project, the lower orders of the Catholics were stimulated to affociate under the title of Defenders, and were impressed with an opinion, that by robbing the houses of Protestants of arms and ammunition, they would contribute to the fuccess of the Catholic cause, and finally be relieved from the payment of tythes, taxes and rent. I will not fay that this fystem of robbery and outrage which was struck out for an ignorant and deluded populace, was first devised by the Catholic Directory. But your Lordships are in possession of full proof, that some of the unfortunate men who were capitally indicted as Defenders n the furmmer 1792, were patronized and protected by them, and that confiderable fums of money were paid out of their stock purse to defray the expence attending the tryals of some persons who were then convicted in the county of Louth. For this I have only to refer to the official letter of their fecretary, which was proved before the fecret committee of this House in 1793, and it is stated at length in their report which has been just now read *. It is now fully ascertained that a close connexion and corresponddence established between the Catholic Directory and the Irish Union.

In addition to this force of midnight robbery and outrage, orders were issued by the Jacobin Clubs at Dublin

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Dublin and Belfalt, to levy regiments of National Guards in every part of the kingdom; their uniform French, and all their enfigns emblems of difaffection. This banditti, however, was put down at the first moment of its appearance, and I cannot but lament; that every other rebellious combination has not been met with equal vigout and decision-If it had much public mischief would have been prevented.—The noble Lord who is fo forward to impute Irish disaffection to what he calls a system of coercion, acted upon by the Irish Government, and encouraged by the British Cabinet, will here pleafe to recollect, that the fystem of midnight robbery and avowed rebellion was completely established before any one flatute was enacted here, to which alone every profligate innovator in Great Britain and Ireland pretends to afcribe the present matured fystem of Irish treason: and he will also please to recollect, that the first of these statutes was enacted in confequence of a Report of a Committee of this House which has been just now read; a Committee appointed on the motion of a noble Earl unconnected with Government, and without communication with Lord Westmorland, who was then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and I lament that a fevere accident has prevented that noble Earl from attending his duty on this night. It is stated distinctly in that Report, that in 1792, and 1793, the project of levying a revolutionary army had been formed; that foldiers were forth-coming in abundance, but that officers were wanting; and I will tell that noble Lord, that this E project

project was disclosed by evidence the most clear and fatisfactory, by the testimony of gentlemen of rank and character, some of them at this moment high in The first military command in the King's fervice. act which passed in consequence of this Report extended only to prohibit the importation of arms and ammunition, or the removal of either by coast or inland carriage, without license : and will the noble Lord venture, in this affembly, to condemn this wholesome and necessary measure of precaution by the Irish Legislature, when it appeared distinctly, that a traiterous conspiracy had been formed in the bosom of their country to levy an army, for the avowed purpole of overawing and subverting the constituted authorities of the state. In the same fession, in consequence of the same Report, another act passed for stopping the contraband trade of Parliament, for declaring the law with respect to popular Conventions; for declaring the law, which I affert with confidence, prohibits and condemns all fuch meetings as unlawful affemblies, tending to difturb public tranquillity, and to raife well-founded alarms in the minds of the King's peaceable fubjects. One of these Conventions had recently held a regular fession in the metropolis, and I have seldom read more feditious and inflammatory libels than were daily circulated in the public prints appointed by authority to report their debates; and a mandate was actually iffued, early in the year 1793 to elect a National Convention to be holden at Athlone, for the redress of national grievances civil and religious, The

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The mode of election was formed by the Irish Union on the model devised by their jacobin affociates in France: primary affemblies were convened in every parish to chuse a certain number of electors, who were to meet at a central point in the county, to chuse their representatives. It is not a strained inference to suppose, that these primary assemblies were not attended by the most sober and industrious inhabitants of the parish, and that sobriety and industry had no very decided influence in the choice of electors; neither does it require any great political fagacity to fee, that if an affembly fo conftituted had been fuffered to establish itself, a prompt and general chain of intercourse and communication would at once have been formed between the turbulent and disaffected members of the community in every part of the kingdom; and it would have rested with the discretion of an invisible power, thus possessed of the means of receiving and communicating prompt and accurate and general intelligence, to order a general or partial infurrection at pleasure. And yet these measures of Legislative precaution, thus forced upon Parliament by treafons avowed and meditated, have been represented as the original fource of popular discontent, and have been condemned by the noble Lord in terms of bitterness and indignation, as a part of the lystem of coercion as he is pleased to call it, wantonly inflicted by the hish Government upon an innocent and unoffending people, and secretly encouraged by the British Cabinet. Would the noble Lord be understood to affert,

fert, that the Irish Parliament have betrayed their trust in stopping the supply of military stores to a revolutionary army, and repreffing tumultuary and feditious assemblies, notoriously convened for promoting rebellion, and overthrowing the Constitution: or would the noble Lord be understood to infinuate, that the Lords and Commons of Ireland have betrayed their trust, because they have not looked at the growth of fedition and treason tame and unmoved, in pure compliment to his incredulity. The Parliament of Ireland did their duty in framing new laws, to meet new and extraordinary exigencies; and if there be a ground of censure on Parliament, it is, that their vigour was not proportioned to the magnitude and extent of the evil-The treasonable affociations which were the source of it, were suffered to augment, unite and marshal their disciples, in one common league of mischief, infomuch, that under their orders, nearly the whole of the Northern district, and some counties contiguous to the metropolis, became a scene of general murder, and robbery and midnight depredation. Every man who was accused by the Brotherhood of loyalty or peaceable demeanour was stripped of his arms-if he prefumed to defend himself he was murdered. The few Magistrates who ventured to execute the law, were marked for affaffination, and many of them were actually murdered: Parliament therefore found it necessary to interpose again, and to frame a law, if possible, to meet this horrid flate of barbarism and outrage, which had bid

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bid defiance to the ordinary course of justice; and in the fession of 1796, the Insurrection A& was passed, which enables the Lord Lieutenant and Council, on a representation of the Justices at a Session of the Peace, that any particular district is in a state of insurrection, by proclamation to declare it fo to be; and the Magistrates, in a proclaimed district, are enabled to exercise strong and summary powers for repressing tumult and outrage, and preferving the peace. Amongst others, they are authorized to order all persons within the proclaimed district to remain in their houses, and to put out their lights after a certain hour of the night. the noble Lord has been pleafed to represent as a revival of the obfolete feudal badge of fervitude, the curfew, and a rigorous execution of it throughout the kingdom of Ireland. The first application to the Lord Lieutenant and Counsel for carrying this act into execution, was made by the magistrates of the county of Armagh, where a religious feud had broken out, and was attended with lamentable exceffes, a feud which was revived by the wicked machinations of the Irish brotherhood, and with unblushing effrontery represented by them, as a Government perfecution instituted against the northern Catholics. I will state the short history of this religious quarrel, and the noble Lord will fee the grievous indifcretion into which he has been betrayed upon this head of his accusation against the Irish government. Many years fince the Protestants, in a mountainous district of the county of Armagh, affociated :

affociated under the appellation of Peep of Day Boys to difarm their Catholic neighbours, who affociated for their common defence under the title of This feud however was foon composed, Defenders. and for years there was not any revival of it; but when the general system of robbing Protestants of their arms was established by the bish Union and the lower order of the Catholics affuming their old appellations of Defenders, undertook this fervice, the Protestants in the county of Armagh associated for their common defence under the title of Orangemen, and feeling in the progress of the contest, that they were an overmatch for their adversaries, they did commit many very grievous excesses, which I lament as deeply as the noble Lord. In the origin of this contest, many years since, there is no doubt the Northern Protestants were the aggressors, but the fend was notoriously revived by the modern banditti of defenders, who in their turn attacked the Orange-men, and would have disarmed them. Lord Camden made every possible exertion to restore peace and to punish those who had violated the law without distinction. He sent down Colonel Cradock to take the military force in that district under his command, with positive instructions to co-operate with the civil power in suppressing tumult, and in refloring peace and good order; and so sensible were the gentlemen of the county of Armagh of their obligations to his Excellency, that at a full meeting of the magistrates they returned their thanks unanimonthy for his extraordinary exertions to maintain

the peace of that district. At the ensuing affizes, the Attorney General was sent down with instructions to profecute indifcriminately every person who stood charged with acts of outrage and disturbance of the public peace, and no man can doubt his impartial discharge of his duty. But the exertions of the executive government were baffled by the local factions of that district, a general election was at hand, and gentlemen who were candidates for popular favour declined to interpole between the contend. ing parties, least they might impair their election interests. Under the same permicious influence, the Magistrates of the county were ranged under the banners of Orange-men or Defenders, just as it best fuited their election politics, infomuch that if I could have found persons in that country who would have done their duty, I would have iffned an entire new commission of the peace. This is the plain history of the religious feud between the Protestants and Papilts of the county of Armagh; a feud which the noble Lord has charged upon the Irish government as a part of the fystem adopted for the persecution of Irish Catholics, and secretly encouraged by the British Cabinet, - a persecution to which, by his account, ninety families had fallen victims on his Lordship's estates.

Let me now state the nature of that treasonable combination which has been formed, and which the nable Lord proposes to dissolve by a nepeal of the Test Laws and the act of Supremacy; a combination the most dangerous and singular which is to

be found in the annals of the civilized world. The subordinate societies consist of thirty members only; when their numbers exceed thirty, the excefs is told off, and a new fociety is founded, with instructions to make profelytes. And in like manner, whenever their numbers exceed thirty, the excess becomes the foundation of another club; thefe focieties elect Delegates from each, who form committees of an higher order, which are called Baronial, and have the management and superintendance of all the subordinate clubs or societies in each Barony; the Baronial committees in like manner elect Delegates in each county, who by the name of county committees, govern and direct the Baronials. The county committees in like manner elect Delegates, who form a superintending provincial committee, for the government and appoint the general executive, whose station is in the metropolis; every member of this union is direction of the feveral county committees in each of the four Provinces; and these Provincial Directories bound by folemn and mystic oaths, one of which we know to be, an oath of secrecy; another, never to give evidence in any court of justice against a brother, let his crime be what it may; and a third an oath of fidelity to the French Republic. The resourses of the union are the seduction of the lower orders of the people, under the specious pretext of Freedom and Equality, and every artifice which cunning and profligacy can fuggeft, has been practifed to detach them from the established Govern-

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ment and Conditution. The Passe has been well with figual fuccels as an engine of rebellion : Sedition and treaton have been circulated with the ceating industry, in newspapers and pamphiess, and hand-bills and speeches, and republican fongs and political manifestos. Robbery, affailination, and mail facre are the efficient powers of the Union, and are executed with prompt and unerring rigour by the order of every member of the executive in their leveral departments. The communication of their orders is fo managed, as to render detection as mon impossible. Each fociery has its fecretary from the general executive, down to the lower Subordinate clubs, the members of which are generally used as the agents of the Union in all acts of outrage; and every order is continumented by the fectetary of the Superior committee to the lecretary of that committee or fociety, which is next in immediate subordination to it; no subordinate committee knows of whom its next aperior is composed; the accreditted fecretary vouches the order, from him it is received implicitly, and is communicated in like manner, till it reaches every member of the union to whom it is addressed. The order is generally verbal, but if it be seduced to writing, the moment the person who is to receive and communicate it is fully inflinited, the paper is deferoyed. Here then is a complete the volutionary Government organized against the laws and established conditions, and let me all the noble Lord, whether such a combination is to be

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met or counteracted, much less dissolved by the flow and technical forms of a regular Government; an invisible power of infinite subtlety and extent, which has no fixed or permanent flation, which acts by the ungoverned fury of a desperate and favage race, and featters universal desolation and difmay, at its fovereign will and pleasure. Such was the influence of this system of terror that feveral well disposed persons were induced from mere apprehensions for their personal security to join the union, and fome of them have, I fear, become reconciled by habit to this general league of mischief, under the same influence witnesses were deterred from coming forward to give testimony for the Crown, and every Juryman who should dare to join in a verdict of conviction was threatened with affaffination. I have read a circular printed hand-bill wich was publicly distributed in the difturbed diffricts in the course of the last summer, threatening every man who should dare to execute the laws against a member of the brotherhood with inevitable destruction, and in some counties this menace had its full effect. Has the noble Lord. heard of the numberless murders which have been perpetrated by the orders of the Irish union, for the crime of putting the laws of the country into a course of execution. Has he heard of the murder of Mr. Butler, a clergyman and a magistrate? Has he heard of the mutder of Mr. Knipe, a clergyman and a magistrate? has he heard of the murder of Mr. Hamilton, a clergyman and a magistrate, and

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and the circumstances of horror which attended it? This unhappy gentleman who had been a Fellow of Trinity College, and had retired to a college Benefice in the county of Donegall, a man of exemplary piety and learning, had been guilty of the heinous crime of inculcating habits of religion and morality and industry and due subordination in a wild and remote district; he had also been guilty of exertion as a Magistrate to stop the progress of treason, and was accordingly denounced by the brotherhood. He had, as every other gentleman in the fame predicament was obliged to do. converted his dwelling house into a fortress, which was protected by a military Guard; he had gone to Derry, but hearing of a disturbance in his neighbourhood, he fatally prepared to return and quiet it, intending to take shelter from his enemies before the return of night. In this, however, he was prevented by a storm, which made it impossible for him to repais a lake, on the edge of which his dwelling stood, and he went to the house of a friend Mr. Waller, who had been also a Fellow of Trinity College, and who to his misfortune received him. Whilst this gentleman and his wife and children were quietly fitting with their guest by the fire-fide, a volley of mulquetry was discharged into his house, which instantly killed Mrs. Waller, and this was the first notice of the attack. The favages who furrounded the house cried out for Mr. Hamilton, and threatened to burn it unless he was delivered into their hands; when this unfortunate

nurate gentleman was dragged from his hiding place by the ferrants of his hoft, delivered into the hands of his enemies, and butchered by them with aggravated circumstances of barbarity too shocking to relate; his widow and helpless children have a pension from the Crown, or they must have perished for want. Has the noble Lord heard of the murder of Mr. Cummins, whose crime was, that be had prefused to enrol his name in a corps of Keomanry, under the command of his Landlord. the Earl of Londonderry ! Has he heard of the attempt to affallinate Mr. Johnston, a magistrate in the populous town of Lifburn ? Was he heard of the recent murder of Colonel St. George, and of his hoft Mr. Uniacke; Has he heard of the recent murder of two dragoons who had discovered to their officers an attempt to feduce them? In 2 word let me alk the noble Lord, whether he has heard of the numberless and attrocious deeds of maffacre and affaffination, which form a part of the fyltem acted upon by the Irifh brotherhood, and encouraged by the privileged orders of innovation? I hold the dark and bloody catalogue! but with not proclaim to the civilized world the flate of cannibal barbas ride to which my unhappy country has been brought back by these pestitent and cowardly train tors. These are the men of fentiment whom the noble Lord is anxious to concibate, these are the injured innocents, whose cause he has so often and for pathetically, pleaded; the injured innocents with deal in midnight robbery, conflagration, and more alegue

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der; and featter terror and defolation over the face of his devoted country. The noble Jord may com complate this feene of horror with coolness from another kingdom, but he will not be furprised that the gentlemen of Ireland, whole existence is at stake. do not view it with the fame indifference. I ha the noble Lord has declared his opinion that affective nation forms no part of the fythem which is afted upon by the Irish brotherhood, and encouraged by the privileged orders of innevation. I know that he has declared his opinion that the numberless musders which have been committed in Ireland face the inflimition of the brotherhood, are but fo many inflances of private and individual folcen. blay more, I know the noble Lord has broadly in. farmated an opinion, that a periodical paper published in the metropolis, which recommends affait. nation, and points out individuals for madacre, is printed and published by the commitance of the Inith Covernment, and forms a part of the Fiftein afted upon here and encouraged by the British Cabinet. If the noble Lord continues to hold that eminion, I will for the prefent leave him in the undifference pelletion of it, and thall only recommend to him to perule attentively printed reports of the tryal of twelve men convicted of a compliacy to murder a foldier in the brigade of artillery, who had ventored to reveal to his officers an attempt made to feduce him, and of the tryal of fome domette of Lord Carlisington who were convicted a a compirmy to maider him of the notice Lord

Lord doubts the authenticity of these reports, I beg to refer him to the Judges who prefided at the tryals. When public justice was thus subverted; when the laws were openly insulted and beaten down; when every gentleman who had courage to remain in his county was marked for affaifination, and had no protection under his own roof but from a military guard; when a plan was actually formed, and nearly ripe for execution, to difarm and cut off the foldiery thus disperfed in small bodies for the protection of individuals; when a fierce and favage foneign enemy hung upon the Irish coast, what alternative remained for the Executive Government, but to furrender at discretion to a horde of traiterous barbarians, or to use the force entrusted to it for felf-defence and felf-prefervation? And what would have been the folly and debility of the Government, which could have hefitated to affert itself with vigour and decision at such a crisis? Lord Camden did not helitate, but, as became him, issued an order on the 3d of March, to difarm the rebels in the Northern diffrict : and if he had not iffued the order, I do not scruple to fay, that he would have betrayed his truft. In giving the order, he is supported by an Address nearly unanimous of both Houses of Parliament, and I might rest his justification on that Address; but as the noble Lord has roundly afferted in another place, that the order issued by Lord Camden for difarming the Northern rebels is given up to be illegal, I now meet him on the point, and am ready to maintain that the order was, not only Syn.T

only firitly legal under the circumflances in which it was illued; but that Lord Camden; if he had with-held it, would have been deeply refponsible for the mischiess which must have arisen from his omit son. The Constitution of these kingdoms must be Brangely defective indeed if it has not in it a mine ciple of felf-preservation; I very well know that it has no fuck defect, and therefore, when the ordinary course of the municipal law, and the atmost exertions of civil magillrates prove ineffectual for the protection of the Constitution, and for the lafety and protection of his Majelly's peaceable and loyal subjects it is the bounden duty of the Executive Government to call in the aid of the military power, for the suppression of treason and rebellion, and for the fafety and maintenance of the Constitution. It was upon this principle that an order was iffined in 1770 to the military force of England to act, when the city of London was attacked by a fanatical banditti, who had well nigh made themselves masters of it. That order probably faved the British empire stand I have no doubt that the order iffied here for diffarm ing the Northern rebels, was elfential for the falvation of the kingdom of freland. The Minister who iffeed fuch an order, is deeply responsible for the aft. if he does it want only and on light grounds, he is highly criminal; but if the occasion demands fuch tion of authority for the prefervation of the fl Minister who with holds it is responsible for all the evil which may arise from such an act of timidity: of his responsibility Parliament is to judge the Minister juno

Minister who issues fuch an order wantonly, or who with holds it improperly, is subject to impeachment; but the approbation of both Houses of Parliament is, by the Constitution of these kingdoms, his full instiffication either for iffuing or withholding the order. And therefore, I prefume, when the noble Lord condemned the order iffued by Lord Camden for difarming the Northern rebels as avowedly illegal, he was not apprized that it received the full. and nearly imanimous approbation of both Houses of Parliament : and, I must fay, that this is I believe the first instance which has occurred in the annals of the British empire, in which the King's Minister has been called to make his defence for fund profing a rebellion; for iffuing an order, when the kingdom was threatened with invasion, to seize arms in the hands of traitors, who waited only to join the invaders; arms in which they had no right but by robbery and treafon, which they used in the interval, to terrify the weak into an Union with them, and to murder every man who had virtue and constancy to adhere to his allegiance. The noble Lord has been pleafed on this night to disclaim any charge of misconduct by the army in executing this order; but in exculpating his brother foldiers he redoubles his charge against the Irish Government, and imputes all the affumed miscondust which he stated in another place, to the infructions given by Lord Camden to the General Officer who communds in that diffrict. For the present, I pais by the singular applegy which he has made for his brother officers,

and put it to the noble Lord, why he has ventured to make such a random charge against the Executive Government, when he might have had precise information on the subject, by moving an Address to the Lord Lieutenant, to desire that he would be pleased to order a copy of these instructions to be laid on the table. I have a copy of them in my hand, and when the noble Lord hears what they are, he will judge whether the charges which he has hazarded against Lord Camden, have a colour of justice.—[For Instructions, see Appendix.]

In obedience to these orders, General Leake did proceed to difarm the rebels in the Northern diffrict, and executed this fervice with all the moderation, ability and difcretion, which have always marked his character as a gentleman and an officer; and in executing this service, he did, amongst others, disarm the rebels of the noble Lord's town of Ballinahinch, which, I am forry to fay, has been for some years a main-citadel of treason. In proportion to the fize, it may vie in treason with the town of Belfast. The noble Lord is of a different opinion, and has very fairly affigned his reasons: he fays, that he explained to the tenants in the town and its vicinity the horrors of Republicanism, the many advantages of the Government and Constitution under which they live; and above all, that he explained to them the splendid virtues of the Heir Apparent of the crown; that they all made to him the most unbounded professions of loyalty, in which however he would not have put implicit confidence, if he had

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not observed the countenance of every man to whom he had addressed himself, beam with joy and triumphant affection, when he mentioned the name and folendid virtues of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Giving the noble Lord full credit as a physiognomia, I must conclude, if he will excuse me for a little presessional pedantry, that the loyalty of his town of Ballinghinch is in abeyance, during the life of his present Majesty. And, as the noble Lord has very fairly stated the grounds of his opinion, I will as frankly flate the grounds of mine: and first, let me refer the noble Lord to the War-Office, where he will find minutes of the General Court Martial, which tried and condemned feveral foldiers of a regiment of militia, four of whom were thot, and he will there find, that these unhappy men were seduced into a conspiracy by the people of his town of Ballinahinch, to betray to the rebels of Belfaft, the military poles which it was their duty to defend, and that they were also feduced to accept of military commissions, and military rank in the revolutionary army of Belfast and Ballinahinch, which was then organized, and waited only the opportunity to come forth in battle array. Let me refer the noble Lord to General Leake, for another proof of loyalty in the town of Ballinahinch; when he fummoned the inhabitants to deliver up their arms, they refused to obey him, but on being threatened with leverity if they perfetted in this refufal; they did deliver up their arms, and amongst other weapons, no inconsiderable number of

of pikes are pikes constitutional arguments for Parliamentary Reform? Are pikes emblems of loyalty? Is the feduction of the King's troops a fymptom of loyalty? And are these the dutiful and affectionate offerings of the noble Lord's tenants and dependents, to the rising virtues of the Heir Apparent of the crown? Does the noble Lord forget that his domestics were tainted with the general contagion? That his gardener and groom, in the presence of Mr. Hamilton, a magistrate, the noble Lord's manager and agent, acknowledged themselves to be members of the Union, and acknowledged that pikes and pike-shafts had been concealed in his timber-yard; and on fearthing for them, Mr. Hamilton did frankly confess his opinion, that they had been removed but the night before General Leake's arrival in the village. The noble Lord will not, I hope, suppose me to infinuate that this concealment was made with his knowledge, or countenanced by him. The most natural place for concealing pikes and pike-shafts, was the house and its appendages of a nobleman in his absence, whose servants and dependents had been seduced into a traiterous conspiracy against the state. His name and rank were very naturally supposed to cast a protection around the place of his occasional residence, and to hasse all fuspicion that it was become a fanctuary of rebellion. The noble Lord flated, that the imputation of disloyalty on his town of Ballinahinch, rested only on the evidence of a man of the name of Daniel Morgan, whom he represents to have been of infamous

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infamous character; but the noble Lord forgot to mention the fate of Morgan. That Daniel Morgan did give an information before one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, of treasons committed, and treasons meditated, by many of the inhabitants of Ballinahinch, is most true; it is equally true, that subsequent events have very fully verified every article of his information, and that he was murdered in consequence of the discoveries which he had prefumed to make. This unhappy man, after he had fworn his information, went to the town of Downpatrick, and was there protected for some time by a military guard, and having ventured to go into the country at the distance of some miles, on a visit to his wife, who had taken refuge at her father's house, he was murdered there, by a band of ruffians who came on horseback upon this mission; and it was distinctly ascertained, that in the night when this murder was committed, a number of persons had fallied from Ballinahinch on horseback; so that it is at the least highly probable, that the affassins order. ed upon this service, were selected from the loyalists of that peaceable town. Within the last two months, under pretence of celebrating the noble Lord's birth-day, the centinels on duty there were made drunk, and this opportunity was taken to rob the King's stores of some hundreds of ball cartridges: fuch is the state of the noble Lord's town of Ballinahinch, which he has been taught to believe to be a model of fentimental and enthusiastical loyalty; and if he has been fo grossly duped and misled

missed in the opinions which he has imbibed of his own immediate tenants and dependents, what must be the extent of his dupery with respect to the coun-

ty at large?

The noble Lord has thought good on this night to retract the charges originally advanced by him against the army of Ireland, and to declare that the excesses and extravagancies of which he complained, were committed under the direct and immediate orders of the Executive Government. particular instances of military outrage adduced by the noble Lord were-" The destruction of the printing press of a newspaper, called the Northern Star, at Belfast.—The story of a child in convulfions, whose nurse was ordered to extinguish her lights .- The picketing one, a black-fmith, and halfstrangling another." As to the first of these charges, in the terms in which it was originally advanced by the noble Lord, an indifferent and uninformed hearer would have imagined, that a regiment headed by its officers had at noon day marched with drums beating and colours flying, under the eye of a General Officer at head-quarters, to demolish the house and the printing-press of a news printer, who had made himself obnoxious to the Executive Government. But what is the fact, of which the noble Lord certainly might have been fully and distinctly apprized? A regiment of militia which I am well informed, until it was cantoned at Belfast and Ballinahinch, was confidered as one of the best behaved and best disciplined regiments in the service. had been corrupted

rupted by traitors in both quarters; feveral of the foldiers had been capitally convicted by the fentence of a General Court Martial, and four of them had been shot, upon clear evidence that they had yielded to the feduction practiced upon them. The regiment to retrieve its character, subscribed to a fund for discovering and punishing any new attempt to feduce the foldiery, and made a declaration of determined loyalty to their King and his Government. A body of the foldiers attended by some non-commissioned officers not on duty, went to the printer's office to defire that this declaration of loyalty might be printed in his newspaper, offering to pay for it: he refused to receive their advertisement, and accompanied his refufal with fome taunting reflections on the foldiers, who did at the instant, goaded with the recent execution of their companions, which they attributed, perhaps, with fome degree of reason to the poison diffused by the Northern Star, and with the taunting refusal of the Printer to receive the declaration which they would have published, proceed to acts of violence against him; and did very nearly destroy his types and printing press; Colonel Leslie, who commanded the regiment, almost immediately interposed, brought off his men, and thut them up in their Barrack; however, whilst he was thus engaged, another party composed principally of yeomanry, who were not in uniform, again attacked the Printer's House, and completed the destruction of his types and printing press. Let me ask the noble Lord

Lord, whether he will venture gravely to affert in this affembly, that he believes this outrage upon military discipline and the municipal law, to have been contrived and committed under the immediate direction of Lord Camden; and if he will venture to make the affertion, let me alk him whether I am to understand his apology for general Lake, and the officers under his command to be, that they have tamely fuffered the King's representative to pass by them; and to issue secret orders to the foldiery under their command, to go forth as a mob, to the utter fubversion of military discipline. Am I to understand his apology for his brother officers to be, that they hold their military fituations under a government which has maintained a fecret correspondence and communication with the foldiery under their command, and has stimulated them to acts of outrage, which the noble Lord did distinctly in his first statement upon this subject, infinuate as scandalous and disgraceful to the military character in Ireland. If this be the noble Lord's apology for General Lake, and for the officers in command in his district, in pure respect for them, I beg to deprecate it; and in pure respect for these deserving officers, I beg of the noble Lord to abide by his first charge against them however ill founded; the fecond instance of military excess and extravagance, is the rigorous enforcement of that obfolete badge of fervitude the Curfew, " The story of the Nurse and Child;" I have taken feme pains to come at the truth of this ftory,

ftory; and the refult has been, that I find a light has been extinguished by order of the officer commanding a patrole in the neighbourhood of Downpatrick, at two different times, and in two different houses; both, however, situated in a proclaimed district; in one of these houses a child did lay in convulsions, and it so happened, that the officer who commaded the patrole, was also the regimental furgeon; he went into the house, and finding on examination that a child did lay in convultions, he fuffered its parents to keep their lights burning, and early on the next day returned to them for the purpole of affording medical affiftance to the infant. The other instance of the enforcement of the Curfew, happened at the house of a man of the name of Carson, whose lights were burning after eleven o'clock; on being called to by the patrole to extinguish them, and not complying immediately, a foldier broke a pain of glass in one of his windows; and so far was Carson from complaining of the injury, that he went the next day to Colonel Bainbridge, who commanded at Downpatrick, and apologized to him for not having afked permission to keep his lights burning to so late an hour, which had never been denied when he had applied for it; and it is a fact which I cannot avoid stating, that within the last week, Mr. George Crogier, the noble Lord's land steward, and solicitor at law, did press this same Mr. Carson to furnish him, with the particulars which had attended this grievous enforcement of the Curfew; that Carfon e Violi

Carfon told him, he had not any ground of complaint, to which Mr. Crogier replied, that unless he would furnish him with the detail of this military extravagance, he should be dragged to the bar of the House of Lords, and examined to it on his oath? So much for the story of the nurse and child-and now for the story of the half strangled and picketed Blackfmith. An information had been made on oath before Mr. Maxwell, a magistrate, that a Blackfmith, of the name of Kirke or Shaw, had been employed in making pike-heads, which he had manufactured in great numbers for the rebels in or about Downpatrick; accordingly Mr. Maxwell went out with a flank company under the command of a field officer, to fearch for these pike-heads; Mr. Maxwell apprehended the Blacksmith, who denied positively that he had ever manufactured a fingle pike-head; the ferjeant and fome of the foldiers put a rope round his neck and drew it over a beam, in the hope of terrifying him into a confession; but he was not suspended. The Magistrate then brought him into the town of Downpatrick, where the Colonel of a Fencible Regiment, who has died fince, put him on the picket, and he did immediately discover the names of several persons for whom he had manufactured pikeheads. In confequence of which discovery, nearly two hundred pikes were seized or brought in within two days. Let me here requelt of the noble Lord to reflect on the number of probable murders which were prevented by this act of military feverity, and appeal to his candour and good fense, whether

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the injury done to fociety in putting Mr. Shaw on the picket, is in any degree to be put in competition with the injury which must have arisen, in leaving two hundred pikes of his manufacture in the hands of the rebels and affaffins of that disturbed district. I deplore as fincerely as the noble Lord can do. those necessary acts of severity; but the executive government was reduced to the painful alternative of using the force entrusted to it in defence of the King's peaceable and well affected subjects, or of tamely giving them up to the fury of a fierce and favage democracy. Every man of feeling must lament the painful duties which we imposed on military officers employed in the suppression of a rebellion. The noble Lord was employed on this service in America, where he was reduced to the painful, but I am confident the indispensable duty of ordering a gentleman who bore the commission of a Colonel, to fummary execution, without the formality of a trial. He will readily perceive that I allude to the case of Colonel Haac Haynes, who was hanged at Charleftown in the year 1781. This gentleman had taken the oath of allegiance to his Majesty, and was suffered to retire to his plantation some miles up the country; the use which he made of this indulgence was, to excite fedition, difaffection, and diffurbance in the adjacent district, to terrify the weak and timid into an Union with him, and to murder every man who had constancy to refist his solicitations. Of this description was an Irishman of the name of Creighton, whose house he surrounded with an armed banditti in order to murder him, but Creighton had time

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time to make his escape to Charlestown; and a patrole having come up with Haynes, and feized him. On identifying his person by a court of enquiry, he was hanged at Charlestown, by order of the noble Lord, and of Colonel Balfour. I state these facts from the printed Reports of the Debates of the British House of Lords, in February 1782: and upon the fame authority I will state, that the defence made for the noble Lord in that affembly by a near friend and connection of his was, that the Commander in Chief had fully approved of the execution of Colonel Haynes, and that fimilar executions had taken place in hundreds of instances during the American war. Let me repeat, that I do not allude to this act of extreme military feverity in any manner with a view to condemn it: I am confident that the noble Lord in issuing his order, felt that it was an act on his part of painful and indispensible duty; but with that feeling in his mind, I cannot but wonder that the noble Lord has brought forward the story of the curfew, and the story of the inquisition, the flory of the nurse and child, and the story of the blacksmith, more especially when I recollect the strong comment which the noble Lord has transmitted to posterity, upon a proposed parliamentary enquiry into the execution of Colonel Haynes, as an unpardonable abuse, in his opinion, of parliamentary privilege and authority. Soon after Lord Cam-den had issued his order for disarming the rebels in the northern diffrict, he was enabled to come at evidence the most distinct and satisfactory of the system of treason established by the Irish brotherhood, and nam. the

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the means by which this discovery was made were purely accidental. A man of the name of Newell, an United Irisaman, by profession a portrait paintor, had been a member of one of the fuperior committees of the brotherhood; he had gone to the house of a gentleman in the county of Down, whose loyalty was unquestioned, to draw portraits of some of his family, and being prevented by fickness from attending his committee of the brotherhood for more than a fortnight, he was immediately suspected of having betrayed the fecrets of the brotherhood to his employer, and marked accordingly for affaffination. An attempt was made to execute this fentence upon him by night in the town of Belfast. when finding himfelf denounced, he did give information which enabled the executive government to feize three committees, with all their papers, in the very act of traiterous council. These papers were referred to fecret committees of both Houses of Parliament, and the noble Lord acknowledges that he has read the reports made by them, but he has this night pretty plainly infinuated, that he confiders the committees who made their reports, and the two houses who concurred with them, to be little short of dupes and drivellers, inafmuch as he has discovered, by a confession made by Newell and by another man of the name of Smith, which he has read fince his last arrival in Ireland, that the evidence given by both is false and fabricated. Let me ask the noble Lord whether he has been favoured with the confession of the worthy gentlemen who bribed this fmith and Newell to make such a declaration? Has the gentle-

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man, who paid each of them a fum of 400l. favoured the noble Lord with a detailed account of that transaction? And has Mr. Newell satisfied the noble Lord by his confession, that the papers seized at Belfast, and referred to both Houses of Parliament, are also false and fabricated? Has Mr. Newell's confession, which the noble Lord has read satisfied him, that the official returns of cannon, and musquets, and military stores, of soldiers organized for a revolutionary army; the official plan of a revolutionary committee; the projected scheme of massacre and confiscation, all reduced to writing, and seized upon three distinct committees of treason sitting in council, are fiction and fabrication. Has Mr. Neville's confession which the noble Lord has read since his last arrival in Ireland, fatisfied him that the report of the committee of this House, stating that it appeared distinctly to them that the ambassador had been fent from hence by the brotherhood in the year 1795, to treat with the executive directory of the French Republic, is also mere fiction and delusion? And will the noble Lord gravely infinuate, that the Lords and Commons of Ireland are dupes and drivellers? And that the noble Lord, by his refidence in another country, or by his occasional visits in Ireland, where he is furrounded by men who are anxious to deceive him, is now enabled to correct their errors and delusions? With all respect to the noble Lord it is an affumption, on his part, to which I must take leave to enter my protest; and I doubt not I shall be joined by a very great majority indeed of the gentlemen who feel a permanent interest

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terest in the safety of this country. When upon the reports made to both Houses of Parliament, they voted a joint and unanimous Address to the Lord Lieutenant, desiring that he would exert the whole energy of the powers civil and military entrusted to him for the suppression of existing rebellion; and in confequence of this Address, his Excellency did, with the advice and concurrence of his Privy Council, iffue a Proclamation notifying to all his Majesty's fubjects, that he had in pursuance of the joint Address of both Houses of Parliament, issued his orders to all executive officers civil and military to maintain the public peace, and to suppress treason, rebellion and infurrection; and in the body of this proclamation, his Excellency did offer full pardon and indemnity to all persons who should within a reasonable time, I think fix weeks, return to their allegiance; and the term for coming in was extended by a subsequent proclamation, I think to fix weeks more. The noble Lord will not, I am confident, condemn a proclamation here, thus issued under the authority of both Houses of Parliament, and I trust he will not condemn it a second time in another place. And when the noble Lord was pleafed on this night to impute some of the excesses of which he complained, to the orders or instructions given to the Commander in Chief by Lord Camden, I must again state to him my surprize that he should make such a vague and random charge against his Excellency, when he might have had precise and accurate information on the fubject, by moving for a copy of the instructions. I have in my hand a copy of Lord Dyron Camden's

Camden's instructions to the Commander in Chief, and of his general order issued in pursuance of them, which I will also read to the noble Lord.—(Here he read them, for which see Appendix.)

The vigorous measures adopted by Lord Camden. in which he was fo fully supported by both Houses of Parliament, had in a great measure stopped the progress of rebellion, when it was again set into motion by a most preposterous proceeding, instituted by some gentlemen of rank and fortune in the county of Down. Early in the last Summer, it was reported that a change of British ministers was in agitation, and I have been well informed that a letter from a nobleman, who it was supposed would take a lead in the new Cabinet, was read at a tavern in this town to a motley affembly of United Irishmen and others, exhorting them to fet the people of Ireland to work in the way of addresses to his Majesty, for that the critical time had arrived when the support of the new embrio Cabinet was effential. And at this critical time, when the whole of the county of Down was proclaimed by law to be in a state of insurrection, and when it had recently been a general scene of midnight robbery, conflagration and murder, an advertisement appeared in the public prints, calling on the High Sheriff to convene the inhabitants of the county without distinction, whether infurgents or not, to meet, in order to frame a petition to his Majesty for the dismissal of his Ministers; and what seems scarcely credible, amongst the persons who figned this curious requifition to the Sderiff, were the names of some Magis-

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trates who first memorialed the Lord Lieutenaut and Council to proclaim the county under the infurrection act, as was the name of a Reverend Prelate, who I fee in his place on this night, for the first time that he has appeared there for years. The High Sheriff, much to his credit, refused to comply with this monstrous requisition made to him to collect the infurgents of the county of Down by colour of his authority; and the gentlemen who had formed this project for bringing together a body of ten or twenty thousand of them, gave it up, as they professed, only from an apprehension that such a turnultuous affembly would have been dispersed by the Magistrates. But the petition was framed, and, if I have been well informed, that Reverend Prelate not only figned it, but did without referve folicit fignatures to it; and if I have been well informed, a clergyman of the established Church, a member of the Chapter of the Cathedral of Down, did read this petition from the pulpit in a Dissenter's Meeting-house, and publicly solicit his auditory to put their names toit. I mention this circumstance in the hearing of that Reverend Prelate, that he may enquire into it at his next visitation, and if he finds that such an act of profane indecorum was committed by a member of his Chapter, he may inflict a censure upon him adequate to his offence. This petition has appeared in all the public prints; it fets out by a complaint that the war and the misconduct of Ministers have destroyed the manufactures and the trade of that diftrict. It is a discovery reserved for that sagacious prelate, and his more fagacious compeers, that a

war which has ravaged the German empire mult lessen the demand for Irish linens. But how does the fact bear them out in this affertion? The value of linens exported from Ireland in the four years prior to the war, from 1788, to 1791, inclusive, is nine millions four hundred and fifty-eight thousand two hundred and ten pounds, and the value for the four subsequent years, from 1792, to 1795; inclusive, is eleven millions fix hundred and fixty-two thousand one hundred and fifty-five pounds; so that it appears distinctly, that in the four first years of the war the linen manufacture, the staple of Ireland, and the only manufacture of the Northern diffrict, has encreased to the amount in value of more than two millions two hundred thouland pounds, over and above the amount of it in the four corresponding years prior to the war; and in the year 1796; which I have not taken into this calculation, the value of linen exported, was three millions one hundred and thirteen thousand, fix hundred and eightyfeven pounds, a fum infinitely greater than the export had ever before amounted to in any one year, fince the hnen manufacture was first established in Ireland. So much for the veracity of that Reverend Prelate, and his co-petitioners in this first affertion carried by them to the foot of the Throne. It is perfectly true, that in the last year, (1797) the export of linen fell above ten millions of yards; but if that Right Rev. Prelate and his compeers, had thought fit to state truth to his Majesty, they would have stated, that the linen weavers of the county of Down, had altogether deserted their looms, and addicted

addicted themselves to politics, they would have stated to his Majesty that they had exchanged their Shuttles for Pikes and muskets and cannon; that their nights were devoted to every species of excess and outrage, and therefore, that a total stop was put to fober and honest exertion amongst the lower order of the people; and if the Right Rev. Prelate and his compeers had told truth to his Majesty, they would have stated, that their petition, fraught as it is with virulent falsehood and misrepresentation, had been hawked about the country for the miscievous purpose of enslaming the minds of the people, and of diverting them from hahits of fober industry and fubmission to the laws, and that this wife and patriotic effort has had its full effect. With equal veracity it is stated to his Ma jesty, that the commerce of that district has been annihilated by the war and by the misconduct of Ministers; how does the fact bear them out in this affertion? By official returns from the commissioners of the customs it appears, that the customs of the port of Belfast, for the four years of the war compared with the four corresponding years prior. to it, have not fallen, on an average, quite feven thousand pounds a year; although the importation of foreign spirits has almost wholly ceased, and although it is perfectly notorious, that fince the year 1791, the town of Belfast has been a citidal of treason, a circumstance not much in favour of its credit in foreign countries; perhaps the Right Rev. Prelate will tell me that the representation to his Majesty went not to any particular district, but

to the kingdom at large; here again I meet him with official documents, from which it appears that on a comparative view of the trade of Ireland, exports and imports, during eight years, ended at Lady-day 1797, there is an accruing ballance in her favour of more than fix millions five hundred and forty thousand pounds; and the increase of her tonnage has been seventeen thousand eight hundred feventy-two tons in the fame period; This is the country, whose trade and manufactures the Right Rev. Prelate represents to his fovereign, as annihilated by the war and by the misconduct of ministers; this is the country which he represents to his fovereign as finking under the weight of milgovernment; this is the country which his fovereign is to rescue from impending ruin only, by a radical parliamentary reform. But what will that Right Rev. Prelate fay for himself in having joined in a representation to his Majesty, that the most constitutional and loyal means of seek-ing redress, have been opposed by the most constitutional and illegal coercions. What will that Right Reverend Prelate, a Bishop of the established Church, say for himself, in having thus justified to his flock an organized system of murder and robbery, and midnight conflagration, as the most unconstitutional and loyal means of seeking redress, and in approaching his Sovereign with this premeditated and unblushing imposition. And is there salvation for a country, in which gentlemen of rank and fortune, headed by a Christian Bishop, can be misled

into fuch acts of criminal folly and levity, not to beflow upon them a harsher epithet. About the same period a similar act of wisdom was committed in the county of Kildare, and a fimilar petition was hawked about that county for fignatures, to which it is faid the name of a mendicant cripple is affixed, whose station for more than twenty years has been on the high way at half a miles distance from Naas, and who must be familiar to every gentleman that has travelled on the fouthern road; and I have been informed by unquestioned authority, that a peer of the realm did spend an entire day in the little town of Leixlip soliciting signatures to this petition, and that his canvals was retarded more than an hour by a blacksmith, who resisted the importunities practifed upon him to forfake his hammer and his anvil, and to addict himself to the politics of his noble preceptor. What was the consequence of this act of criminal folly in the county of Kildare? From a state of perfect tranquillity and good order, it became almost immediately a scene of general tumult and outrage, infomuch that the resident gentlemen were compelled to feek for fafety and protection by maintaining regular military garrifons in their houses, and fortifying every part of them, which was open to affault, and fuch was the base and brutal spirit of the insurgents, that their best benefactors were marked for destruction. Mr. Conolly, who had spent the whole of his life and a princely fortune amongst them, who was more than seconded in acts of unbounded charity and benevolence by that excellent

cellent woman; who, if perfection be the lot of human nature, is a model of it; who has employed the whole of her life in administering comfort to the poor in a district of miles around her, as if they were members of her family, who has fed the hungry and cloathed the naked, and healed the fick, and brought up their children in the ways of religion and virtue, and honest industry; Mr. Conolly and this most excellent lady were marked as the objects of plunder and destruction, by the wretches who had existed for a course of more than thirty years by their bounty. And this gentleman and his lady, who have thus devoted their lives, and a great and princely fortune, to acts of unbounded benevolence in a circuit of miles around them, are at this moment indebted for perfonal fafety in their manfion-house, to the protection of a military guard, and dare not make use of the lower apartments in it, under the apprehension of a midnight salute of mulquetry. And the noble Lord may rest assured, if he should return to his country residence in Ireland, he may meet the fate from the loyalifts of Ballynahinch which was intended for Mr. Concily by gentlemen of the fame stamp at Celbridge.

Notwithstanding the patriotic efforts of some worthy and reverend gentlemen in the country of Down to persuade the people that their commerce and manufactures were annihilated, and that the acts of outrage and rebellion into which they were seduced, are the most loyal and constitutional means of reduced, order and tranquillity were respond in the course

course of the last Summer in a considerable part of that diffrict; a very great number of defiructive weapons had been feized and fecured in the King's stores. In the county of Down and the adjacent diftrict, more than four thousand pikes, several thoufands of fire-arms, two small pieces of cannon and a howitzer. And in another district, a noble Lord who fits near me was enabled to feize twelve hundred pikes and two pieces of cannon, fix-pounders. The people were returning fast to habits of industry, and confidence was fo far restored, that justice had in fome of the disturbed counties resumed its course, infomuch that feveral perfons were capitally convicted of treason and murder, others of administering unlawful and treafonable oaths,-amongst the latter a man of better rank in fociety, of the name of William Orr. Instantly a new revolutionary engine was fet at work, and the administration of justice was fystematically libelled in all its departments; a newspaper has been set up in the metropolis, if report is to be credited, at the fuit of a young gentleman who may one day have a feat in this House, systematically to degrade the administration of justice; and this Mr. William Orr has been publickly held out as a martyr, and a victim facrificed by the Executive Government in violation of criminal justice; and a gentleman, whom I believe the people of England have the happiness to behold as one of their representatives, has with equal decency and wifdom, at a late drunken tavern meeting in another country, given by way of fenticourse mental

mental toaft, " the memory of William Orr who was basely murdered in Ireland;" and his neighbour, not to be outdone in wildom and difcretion by this worthy fenator, announced to the chairman his fentiment, " that the Irish Cabinet may foon take the place of Mr. Orr." I have informed myself accurately of the circumstances which attended this unhappy man's conviction, which I will state, and as I state them in the hearing of the noble and learned Lord who fat upon his trial, if I should commit any the most trivial mistake, I have no doubt he will fet me right: he was indicted for administering an unlawful oath to two foldiers of the names of Wheatly and Lindsay, an oath certainly intended to feduce them from their duty; what led to the discovery of their feduction was, the feizure of some official papers at Londonderry, upon a committee of United Irishmen, in which these two soldiers were returned by name by one of their corresponding committees, as being up, which is the cant phrase of the brotherhood to describe its members: these men were immediately feized by their officers, and examined separately, and on their examination, they both agreed in the detail of their evidence, and having fworn information before a magistrate against Mr. Orr, for administering an oath of seduction to them, he was arrested, and brought to trial. On his trial both the foldiers were examined, and proved distinctly, that Orr had administered the oath to them in the presence of several persons, whom they named; and after a long and puzzling cross examination. daire :

nation, as I am informed, nothing appeared which could invalidate their testimony. An attempt was made by the prisoner, in his defence, to impeach the credit of one of them, I think of Wheatley, in which he failed so completely, that the learned Lord who presided at the trial could not even take down this evidence on his note book; but no attempt whatever was made at or after the trial, to impeach the credit or to invalidate the testimony of Lindsay; and although both the foldiers named feveral persons who had been present when they were sworn by the prisoner, not one of them was produced on his part or examined in contradiction of the foldiers. On this evidence the Jury found him guilty, and recommended him to mercy; the next day a motion was made in arrest of judgment, and to the scandal and difgrace of the profession to which I belong, in a partial and garbled report of the trial of this unhappy man; which every lawyer who reads it must fee is the production of a Barrifler, the public are given to understand that there was but one count in the indictment to which the objection was made in arrest of judgment; and the public are also given to understand that this unhappy man was tried and convicted under an expired flatute, although it is clear as any point could be, that the original statute would not have expired till the end of this fession of parliament; and an act had passed last year for explaining and amending it, which is altogether suppressed, and although these were the counts in the indictment, to all of which the evidence on the trial

trial equally applied, and two of them were unobjected to by the prisoner's council, yet is this circumstance also suppressed; and in the same gardled and mutilated report, an affidavit of two of the Jurors is printed, that whifkey was introduced into the jury-room, and that they were drunk when they gave their verdict, and to the scandal and disgrace of an honourable profession, in the same report, one of the prisoner's counsel is represented as having stated this affidavit in open Court, on the slims pretence of moving the Court of Oyer and Terminer for an attachment against these Jurymen upon the voluntary affidavit, which they had been prevailed upon to make, accusing themselves of having given their verdict in a state of intoxication; and in the fame report a voluntary affidavit of a differting Clergyman, taken most improperly by a Magistrac after Orr's conviction, is also printed, in which he states some time since he attended Wheatley at the village of Rasharkin on a fick bed, when he confeffed that he had committed a number of crimes, and amongst others the crime of perjury; and in the same affidavit he describes Wheatley pretty plainly as being in a state of mental derangement when he made this confession. On the return of the learned Lord to town he laid the recommendation of the Jury before the Lord Lieutenant, and being asked by his Excellency whether he had a doubt on his mind of the guilt of Mr. Orr, and whether he would join in recommending him to mercy? The learned Lord declared he had no doubt on his own mind

mind of the guilt of this unhappy man, and that he could not recommend him to mercy confiftently with his duty. His Excellency, notwithstanding this declaration of the learned Lord, respited Mr. Orr, to give time for enquiry whether any justifiable ground could be laid for extending mercy to him, and finding that nothing could be fubstantiated to shake the justice of his conviction, the unhappy man was left for execution. The affidavits which I have stated never were laid before the Lord Lieutenant; but if they had, is there a man with a trace of the principles of justice in his mind, who will fay that fuch affidavits ought to be attended to? Is it to be supposed that a Judge would receive a verdict from a Jury in a state of intoxication? Or was it ever heard that a Juryman was received, by voluntary affidavit, to impeach a verdict in which he had concurred? Will any man with a trace of criminal juftice in his mind fay, that a voluntary affidavit of a person not produced, unexamined at the trial, ought to be received after conviction, to impeach the credit of a witness who was examined and crossexamined, and whose credit stood unimpeached by legal evidence? If such an affidavit were to lay the necessary foundation of a pardon after conviction, I will venture to fay there is no man who may be convicted hereafter of any crime, however atrocious, that will not be able to obtain a fimilar affidavit. I wish Magistrates to know, that in taking such affidavits, they are guilty of a gross breach of duty; they have no jurisdiction or authority to administer voluntary

voluntary oaths or to take voluntary affidavits. The person who takes such an oath, or makes such an affidavit, cannot be convicted of perjury if he fwears falfely; and, I am forry to fay, that it is no uncommon practice in Magistrates to sign instruments which are called affidavits, without obliging the perfons who fign them to make oath as to the truth of their contents. If a doubt could be entertained upon the evidence given on his trial of the guilt of Mr. Orr, his dying declaration feems to me to be a plain confession of it; he is made to declare generally that the foldiers who accused him were forsworn, but for this general declaration he had this plain fubterfuge,—that be had administered an oath to them, not to give evidence against any brother of the Union. He seems distinctly to avow the offence of which he was convicted, and to deny the justice and authority of the statute which makes it a capi-The fact is, that this unhappy man tal crime. was a principal and confidential member of the brotherhood, and his execution was confidered a fatal blow to the cause of treason; and therefore it is that all this outcry has been raised, in the hope of doing away the effects of fuch an example, and of terrifying judges from discharging their duty, and the executive Government from prefuming to withhold pardon from any leading member of the brotherhood who may hereafter be convicted. The wretched beings of the inferior orders whom they feduce, are configned to their fate without remorfe or murmur.

Soon after the execution of Mr. Orr, a most attrocious libel was published on the judge who had tried him, and on his Excellency the Lord Lieutepant, for fuffering justice to take its course; and a wretched printer of the name of Finerty, who had been put forward to swear himself the sole proprietor of the newspaper in which it was published, was tried and convicted, and fentenced to the pillory and imprisonment on an indictment for the publication: and in order to do away the effects of this example, a new expedient was devised: a libel infinitely more flagrant and mischievous was immediately circulated in pamphlets, and newspapers, as the speech of one of his Majesty's Council, delivered by way of defence for the printer on his trial; I will not believe that an honourable profession has been scandalized and degraded, by the delivery of fuch a farrago of falsehood and sedition in a court of justice: I will not believe that any gentleman who wears the gown of that honourable profession, could be found to infinuate broadly to the jury, who were to give a verdict on the trial of his client, that they were packed and garbled, because the sheriff by whom they were. impannelled derived his authority from the crown: I will not believe that any gentleman of that honourable profession would venture to state distinctly, that, his client could expect from the judge to whom he addressed himself, at best, but a cold and inanimate, statement of facts, and the law arising from them, thus in plain terms infinuating, in the true spirit of the brotherhood, that the fources of criminal juftice

tice are poisonous and corrupted. No, in their rage for degrading the administration of justice, they would blast the character of their retained advocate, by falfely and foully representing him as sacrificing his miserable client to the cause of sedition and treafon, and by imputing a libel to him for which the author ought to have accompanied Mr. Finerty on the pillory.

I trust the noble Lord has heard enough on this. night to open his eyes with respect to the state of the kingdom of Ireland. But if any thing is, wanting to flash conviction on his mind, of the disloyalty and treason of the Irish Union, let him look to what is now passing in the southern and midland diffricts; during all the diffurbances which prevailed in other parts of the kingdom, we were in a state of profound tranquility and contentment there; the farmers had already tasted the sweets of fober industry; agriculture was encreasing most rapidly, and the country were the face of wealth, and comfort and happiness; nay, more, the condition of the lowest order of the peasantry was meliorated in a degree that I never flattered myfelf I should have lived to witness; we never heard there of parliamentary reform or Catholic emancipation; and if the noble Lord was to talk of either to a farmer or a peafant of the fouthern or western Province, he would comprehend him as little as he would understand the quotation from Tully which his Lordship has just now made; when the enemy appeared on the roaft in the last year, a gene-

ral fentiment of loyalty prevailed in all ranks and degrees of the people, who vied with each other, in contributing to defend their country against the invaders; on the report of general Hoche, at his return to France, of this unexpected loyalty in the people of Ireland, the ambaffadors of the Irish Union resident at Paris, were reproached with having imposed upon the directory, and in confequence of this reproach, instructions were transmitted to the Irish directory to organize the south of Ireland, as they had organized the north; and accordingly emissaries have been employed to feduce the people of that district with fo much success, that there has been a sudden and immediate transition in almost every part of the Province of Munster, and also in many counties in Leinster, from peace and good order and contentment to general tumult and outrage, and every species of cruelty and barbarism. Will the noble Lord fay, that the prefent diffurbed ftate of the fouthern diffrict is to be imputed to the fystem of coercion, as he calls it, acted upon by the government of Ireland, and encouraged by the British Cabinet? Coercion, as he calls it, was never put into practice there, 'till' unhappily the recent feduction of the giddy and deluded people of that district compelled the magistrates and resident gentlemen to fly for refuge to the excutive government, and to call for the execution of the infurrection act in their own defence. But I make no doubt that we shall soon be told by some of the noble Lord's political friends in Great Britain.

Britain, that the miserable inhabitants of the fourth of Ireland have been goaded to infurrection by the fystem of coercion, and that they have only fought for Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation by the most loyal and constitutional means; and certainly this story may be told of the people of the fouth, with the same degree of truth with which it has been propagated by the injured inhabitants of the north. Let me now make a ferious and folemn appeal to the noble Lord; let me call upon him to state distinctly and unequivocally whether he believes there is at this hour an organized and extended fystem of treason rooted in the kingdom of Ireland? If he answers that he does not believe it, let me ask him what he confiders to be fymptoms or proofs of treason? Does he consider the project of levying a revolutionary army a proof of treason; does he confider the feduction of the King's troops a proof of treason; does he consider a conspiracy to seize the King's forts and arfenals a proof of treason. Such a conspiracy was detected within the last month at Athlone. Does he consider the formation of secret depots of arms and ammunition a proof of treafon; does he confider the concealment of cannon as a proof of treason; does he consider the distribution of pikes amongst the lowest order of the people a proof of treason; Does the confider the mystick revolutionary Government of the Irish Union as a proof of treason; does he consider a regular correspondence carried on by the Executive Directory of the Union with the King's enemies to be a proof of treason.

The fact is fo notorious that I must suppose the noble Lord has heard that there now is and has been for a confiderable time an accredited minister plenipotentiary of the Irish Directory resident at Paris; a man who received the rudiments of his education in a feminary of Jefuits, and completed it in the office of an Attorney at Law. The noble Lord has I prefume also heard that the Irish Directory had three accredited ministers resident at Lisle during the late negociation for peace, to counteract the King's minister Lord Malmesbury. I make no doubt the noble Lord would recognize these gentlemen if he were to hear their names, as they are all natives of Belfaft. And let me ask the noble Lord whether he has come express to this kingdom, seriously to recommend to us to oppose conciliation to rebellion, to oppose cannon pikes with concession and sentiment and romance and fine feeling. If the noble Lord had been fo opposed in America, there can be no doubt what would have been the event of his campaigns. But if the noble Lord has fo much confidence in conciliation, he certainly has not commenced his operations with judgment, he should have fet out by making his proposition to the Directory of the Union; and first let me ask him whether he knows of whom the Directory is composed; if he does, he will do a very fignal fervice to the nation by disclosing their names. I suspect very strongly that the noble Lord has feen and communicated with Some of them since his last arrival in Ireland; not officially as members of the Directory, for Tam

pretty confident they would feel the same reluctance in community officially with the noble Lord, that they would feel in community with me; but as members of the head committee of grievances appointed to collect materials for this long expected debate. I am apt to suspect that some of the Directory may have tendered their fervices to the noble Lord. If they will negociate with him, he will find the event to be that we shall be defired by way of preliminary to lay down our arms, to restore to the Union all the arms and ammunition which we have taken from them, to repeal the test laws and the act of supremacy, and to give them a Democratic House of Commons upon the basis of general suffrage, and when the preliminaries are conceded, in the true spirit of their brethren of France, they will tell us what further concessions they may have to demand.

I fear I have exhausted your Lordships' patience, and I have very nearly exhausted my strength. But before I sit down I must very shortly advert to the system of conciliation which the noble Lord has recommended, and first to the system of Emancipation; A phrase I'must say of equal wickedness and folly when applied to any class of his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom. Does the noble Lord know that the whole code of the popery laws enacted since the Revolution has been repealed; and that there is not at this hour a single disability affecting a Papist or Roman Catholic save one, that is a restriction in the use of sire-arms to men possessed of a freehold of the yearly value of ten pounds or

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if a personal estate I think of three hundred pounds in value, a restriction which I sincerely wish was extended to all his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom without distinction; and therefore when the noble Lord talks of emancipating the Papists of Ireland, or of restoring them to the benefits of the Constitution he does not speak with all the accuracy which might be expected of him; I know of no word more frequently in use than the Constitution, nor of any which is fo often absent. I will state to the noble Lord what my notions are of the British Constitution; and if I am militaken he will fet me right. A Government fprings from it which affords equal protection to all his Majesty's subjects in their characters, their lives, their liberties and their property. Will the noble Lord fay, that the character, the life, the liberty and the property of a Roman Catholic have not the fame protection from the law in this kingdom, that is extended to every other member of the Community.

I take it to be a vital principle of the constitution, that the church and state are intimately and inseperably united, esinging both to the other for support; and therefore it is, that every subject in these kingdoms, is bound by laws coeval with the constitution as now established, before he can be admitted to the exercise of any essicient power ecclesiastical or civil derived under it, to give a solemn and unequivocal pledge of his allegiance to the establishment in Church and State; laws which bind us all indifferently; and therefore, when the

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modern cant of Emancipation is applied to the test It feems to be a distinct avowal by those who use it, that this breach of political Reform means nothing short of Revolution. The altar is the main pillar of the throne, and if we shall ever be so mad as to repeal the laws made to guard our ecclefiaftical establishment, we shall in my opinion at the same moment shake to its foundation the British monar-"Till the ærea of modern illumination, it never was supposed that a limited monarchy could exist without test laws; that they were effential to maintain the constitutional balance between the different powers of which our Government is composed, to prevent the Crown from committing the judicial and ministerial powers of the State to difaffected persons, and to prevent the people from committing the great and extensive powers exercised by their representatives, to persons of the same The founders of the Irish Union had description. fagacity to fee that the first necessary step in their plan of Revolution, was to abolish all religious distinctions in the State, and it baffles all human calculation to discover any found principle upon which we have heretofore acted, in outstripping them in advances to the attainment of this their favourite object. When the noble Lord adopts the modern fystem of Emancipation, I wish he would bring the fubject forward distinctly, and let us view it in all its bearings: I should thank him to bring forward a detailed and practicable plan of rational Government, under his proposed system

of emancipation: that he would first shew us the practicability of repealing the act of supremacy; an act which annexes the ecclefiastical jurisdiction in Ireland to the imperial crown of England: I should thank him to explain how the repeal of this act is practicable, without the authority of a British statute, authorifing the Keeper of the Great Seal in England to affix it to an act, for making partition of this jurisdiction in Ireland with his Holiness the Pope: and if the two Houses of Parliament in Great Britain shall pass such an act, I shall thank the noble Lord for his folution of another difficulty, and that is, in what manner his Majesty can be enabled to affent to an act giving fuch an authority to the Keeper of the Great Seal, or to an act repealing the act of supremacy, consistently with the statute limiting the crown to the House of Hanover, or with the coronation oath; and above all, I shall thank the noble Lord, if his plan of emancipation fhould take place, to explain his nostrum for maintaining a Protestant Church by a Popish State, and to explain his new system of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, to be administered by judges who deny the fource of all existing ecclesiastical authority in these kingdoms. If there ever was a subject, which ought to be treated with an anxious and trembling caution, it is this subject of Catholic claim and demand of exemption from the test laws and act of supremacy. But caution and fober deliberation have been contemptuously disclaimed: the people have been told from high popular authority, that they should by no means. means forego the opportunity of the war in urging their claims; that they should instantly embrace, and greatly emancipate; and that they must extinguish all members of the community who are startled by this magnificent project, or they will be extinguished by them. I might perhaps be excused for speaking with some degree of warmth on this subject, for I was within a hair's breadth of being extinguished, immediately after this sublime lesson of great emancipation and general extinguishment was promulgated.

Upon the subject of emancipation, will the noble Lord allow me to make a very earnest request to him, and if he will indulge me in it, I shall really acknowledge myself deeply indebted to him: will the noble Lord have the goodness on his return to Great Britain, to oblige me, by proposing a repeal of the test laws and the act of supremacy, in the British House of Lords? I am pretty consident the noble Lord will not grant me this request: and he will not grant it, because he knows, that if he were to make such a proposition there, he would foon learn, that it is treason to the British Constitution. He would there be taught to know that the House of Stewart was expelled the British throne for a similar attempt, and that any man who should dare to propose such a repeal in the British Parliament, did by the proposition, condemn the title of the illustrious house of our Monarch to the British throne.

If the noble Lord were to talk of repealing the test laws, and the act of supremacy in Great Britain, by way of conciliation, he would be told, that he retailed the fulfome cant of James's memorable declaration for liberty of conscience: and I wish the noble Lord to read that famous proclamation, in which he will find the stale and slimsy pretext of conciliating and uniting men of all religious persuasions, in the support of Government and the Constitution, held out to the people of England by that deluded bigot, to reconcile them to the introduction of Papists into both Houses of Parliament, and into the efficient offices of the state, civil and military.

Upon the fecond head of the noble Lord's conciliatory project, I shall say but little: the opinions of the noble Lord upon this fubject feem to have received a very fudden twift fince his last arrival in Ireland. The noble Lord has stated this night, that his opinion recently and publicly delivered upon this fubject, was confined altogether to Parliamentary Reform, in Great Britain; I must therefore conclude, that fuch was the noble Lord's refervation when he delivered that opinion, although it was delivered without refervation or qualification, in a debate introduced by him exclusively on the subject of Ireland; but as the noble Lord still avows his difapprobation of Parliamentary Reform in Great Britain, as a measure at best doubtful in point of advantage, and imminently hazardous in the probable consequences: let me now put it to him, how infinitely more hazardous and critical will be the experiment in this kingdom. If the noble Lord will look to the political fituation of Great Britain and Ireland.

Ireland, connected under one common Sovereign, each country governed by a Parliament perfectly distinct from and independent of the other, the imperial fystem for both kingdoms, will appear to be the most critical and complicated that has ever subfifted in Europe: to a common observer it would appear to be utterly impracticable: however, experience has proved, that in the midst of popular turbulence, and in the convulsion of rancorous and violent party contests, the Irish Parliament as it is now constituted, is fully competent to all practical and beneficial purposes of government; that it is fully competent to protect this, which is the weaker country, against encroachment, and to fave the empire from diffolution, by maintaining the conflitutional connection of Ireland with the British crown. And, therefore, if the noble Lord feels the imminent hazard of innovation in the constitution of Great Britain, how much more cautious ought he to be of making experiments in Ireland, more particularly when they have been first devised for the avowed purpose of destroying the subtle and attractive principles of adhesion, which have heretofore preserved the empire from diffolution. But let me suppose for a moment that the noble Lord's conciliatory system was free from difficulty or objection, will he, as a statesman, seriously recommend to the Irish Parliament to yield to rebellion the claimed redress of speculative political grievances? Will the noble Lord, as a statesman, recommend to us as a measure of found policy, to repeal our test laws and act of fupremacy, commende

premacy, and to reform the other House of Parliament, in the hope by fuch an act of conciliation and concession, to put down a determined rebellion? If we are to make fuch a precedent for the encouragement of rebellion, I beg of the noble Lord to fay where are we to draw the line; and if he will not fubscribe to my opinion on this subject, I beg to refer him to a Right Hon. Gentleman in another country of the first ability as a statesman, who, in the year 1783, did most emphatically declare his opinion as a Cabinet-minister, that the existence of legitimate government in Ireland depended on the difpersion of a military convention, then assembled for the reform of Parliament, and on the indignant rejection of any proposition which they might presume to make upon the subject. In that convention I will venture to fay there was not a fingle rebel; there was not a member of it who would not willingly. have shed his blood in the defence of his Sovereign and of the constitution. But I did then agree with that Right Hon. Gentleman, that there must be an end of all legitimate government, if political claims are to be advanced at the point of the bayonet; and if I did at that period refuse to listen to a proposition for parliamentary reform, made to the House of Commons by a military convention, composed of very worthy gentlemen, who had been giddily betrayed into such an act of indiscretion, I will not now liften to much more extravagant claims pressed upon me under the terror of impending rebellion. If the conciliatory fystem recommended

commended by the noble Lord is to be debated on its intrinsick merits. Let me advise him to apply to the Directory of the Irish Union in the first instance; let the Directory withdraw their minister plenipotentiary from Paris; let them dissolve their revolutionary Government at home; let them deliver up their cannon and pikes which have heretofore escaped the vigilance of civil and military officers, Let them withdraw their emissaries who have been sent forth to seduce the people from their allegiance, and absolve them from the treasonable engagements with which they have been seduced; and let them then submit their claims and their grievances to calm discussion by the Legislature.

I will once more appeal to the noble Lord, and call upon him to waive all vague and general questions; and to state distinctly the grievance if it exists; of which the people of Ireland can with justice complain against the British Government, the British Parliament or the British Nation; or against the Government or Parliament of their own country. In 1779 they demanded a free trade, and it was granted to them. In 1782 they were called upon to state the measure of their grievances, and the redress which they demanded; and redress was granted to the full extent of their demands. In 1787 they were diffatisfied with the redress which they had pointed out, and acknowledged to be complete and fatisfactory, and it was extended to the terms of their new demand. In 1785 they demanded a commercial treaty with Great Britain, and the made

them a fair and liberal offer which they were pleafed to reject with childish folly. In 1789 they demanded a place bill, a pension bill, and a refponsibility bill as necessary to secure the Constitution established in Great Britain and Ireland in 1688. and renewed in Ireland in 1782, which they pledged themselves to support to the last drop of their blood. They had their place bill, and their pension bill, and their responsibility bill, and much more than they had ever demanded upon that fcore; for his Majesty was pleased to furrender his hereditary revenue, and to accept a civil establishment for his life, by which Parliament was enabled to make a general appropriation of the revenues, and to limit the Crown in granting penfions; and his Majesty was also pleased to put the office of Lord Treasurer into commission; and by these regulations they obtained the same fecurity for the Constitution as established at the Revolution in 1688 which the people of Great Britain enjoy, and at the time when this fecurity was given to them, the Parliament of Great Britain repealed and explained the British navigation laws by which we were prohibited from exporting the produce of the British colonies and plantations from this country to Great Britain, a boon of all others the most effential to our foreign trade, for by it we have the certain issue of the British market for any furplus of plantation goods imported into Ireland above our own confumption. About the fame period every disability which had affected Irish Papists was removed, fave a restriction in the use of fire-

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arms, which extends only to the lowest order of the people; and fober and thinking men might reason'ably have hoped that the stock of grievances was exhausted, and that they might have been allowed some short respite from popular ferment. In this expectation however we have been deceived, and when every other topick of discontent had failed, the government and constitution, as established at the Revolution, has been discovered by the gentlemen who pledged themselves in 1789 to defend and maintain it to the last drop of their blood, to be a slavish monopoly, inconfistent with the civil and religious liberties of the people. And is the noble Lord fo credulous in this instance as to suppose that if this new project should succeed, and the slavish monopoly of the Revolution was abolished, the account of grievances would be closed-Uno avulso non deficit alter, & simili frondescit Virga metallo.

If the noble Lord wishes to know the genuine fource of oftenfible Irish grievances, he will be enabled to trace it to some of his political friends and connections in Great Britain and Ireland. The gel nuine source of Irish complaint against the British government is, that they will not fecond the ambitious views of fome gentlemen who claim an exclusive right to guide the public mind, and to monopolize to themselves and their dependants the power and patronage of the Crown. The genuine cause of complaint against the British Cabinet is, that they will not fuffer these gentlemen to erect an aristocratic power in Ireland which shall enable them to dic-- Marrah 1

tate to the Crown and the People; which shall enable them to direct and controul the administration of Great Britain, by making the government of this country impracticable by any but their political friends and allies. Upon what just grounds these arrogant pretensions are advanced, I have not as yet been enabled to discover. I am willing to give the noble Lord full credit for the fincerity of his profesfions, and to believe that his object is to tranquillize this giddy and distracted country, and therefore I will take the liberty most earnestly to advise him not to renew the strange exaggerated statements which he has been in the habit of making on Irish affairs in the British House of Lords, where they can have no other effect than mischief. Let me advise him also most earnestly to exert the insuence which his high name and character must give him with his political connections in Great Britain, to induce them to confine their political warfare to the theatre of their own country, and to ceafe to dabble in dirty Irish faction. It is one great misfortune of this country that the people of England know less of it, than they know perhaps of any other nation in Europe. Their impressions I do verily believe to be received from newspapers, published for the fole purpose of deceiving them. There is not so volatile nor so credulous a nation in Europe as the Irish; the people are naturally well disposed, but are more open to feduction than any man would credit, who had not lived amongst them. If I am to speak without difguife, civilization has not made any confiderable

fiderable progress amongst us, and therefore the kingdom of Ireland is, of all the nations of Europe, the most dangerous to tamper with, or to make experiments upon. Her present disturbed and diftracted state has certainly been the consequence of a feries of experiments practifed upon her for a course of years. If the gentlemen of Ireland who have a permanent interest in the fafety of the State; could be prevailed upon to adjourn their political quarrels and refentments to a period when they might be renewed, without endangering every thing which is worth preserving in society, and to unite against the common enemy, I should feel no manner of apprehension for the event of the contest in which we are engaged, with foreign and domestic enemies. But whilst we are divided, and men of rank and character are found ready to hazard every thing for the possible success of little paltry personal objects, the crisis becomes awful indeed. If Ireland is to be tranquillized, the first step towards it must be, to cursh rebellion. No lenity will appeale the factious rancour of modern Irish reformers, nor will any measure of conciliation satisfy them short of a pure democracy, established by the influence, and guaranteed by the power of the French Republic.

LORD MOIRA having in his reply stated, that he did not wonder the people of Ireland should wish for Parliamentary Reform, when an official declaration had been made in the House of Commons,

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emperated that the first superior in the plant plant and the control of the contr

that half a million must be expended to put down the opposition. The CHANCELLOR, in answer to this observation, thanked his Lordship for having afforded him an opportunity of publickly refuting a calumny which had been propagated with uncommon industry. The Chancellor stated, that in the fession of 1789, during the indisposition of his Majesty, when a debate arose upon a vote of censure moved against Lord Buckingham, because he declined to transmit an Address to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, an observation was made in the House of Commons, by some other gentleman, that a cenfure had some years before been voted against Lord Townshend, and that in the same Parliament, a flattering Address had been also voted to him. The Chancellor faid, that in adverting to this observation in the course of the debate, he stated fimply, that he had heard that Address in all its confequences, cost the Irish nation, half a million; and the ftory which has been built on this naked observation, on a statement made in debate by another gentleman, is, that he had, in defending new offices created by Lord Buckingham, justified the expenditure of half a million in putting down the opposition in the House of Commons: he said he was not furprised that Lord Moira had been imposed upon by this impudent falsehood; but that two plain facts were sufficient for its detection: one is, that the new offices complained of, were not created until after he [the Chancellor] had ceased to be a member of the House of Commons; and the subject never was debated in the House of Lords. The other fact he stated to be, that when he made the observation, he voted in a small and virtuous minority in the House of Commons, when so far from his speaking officially, it was generally understood, that he was to go out of office on the change of Administration, which was expected immediately to take place, so much so, that his successor was publickly named. As to the transactions in Lord Townshend's time, he could have spoken of them merely from report, as at the time they took place, he was at the University of Oxford.

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Containing Original Papers, referred to in the foregoing Speech,

Die Jovis, 7º Martii, 1793 nan Adell

The Lord Chancellor from the Lord Committees appinted to enquire into the causes of the disorders and disturbances which prevail in feveral Parts of this kingdom, to endeavour to discover the Promoters of them, to prevent their extension, and to report the result of their enquiries to the House, made the following report, viz.

My Lords,

THE Committee appointed to enquire into the eauses of the disorders and disturbances which prevail in several parts of this kingdom, to endeavour to discover the promoters of them, to prevent their extension and to report the result of their enquiries to the House, have examined into the matters to them referred as far as the time would permit, but apprehending that delay may be attended with danger in the present circumstances of the times, they think it their duty to lay before the House immediately such information as they conceive to be material for the present, which is as follows:

The people at this time called defenders, are very different from those who originally assumed that appellation, and are all, as far as the Committee could discover, of the Roman Catholic persuasion; in general poor ignoral labouring men, sworn to secreey, and impressed with an opinion that they are assisting the Catholic cause; in other respects they do not appear to have any distinct particular object in view, but they talk of being relieved from hearth-money tithes, county cesses, and of lowering their rents. They first appeared in the county of Louth, in considerable bodies in April last, several of them were armed, they assembled

mostly in the night and forced into the houses of Protestants. and took from them their arms. The diforders foon foread through the counties of Meath, Cavan, Monaghan and other parts adjacent; at first they took nothing but arms, but afterwards they plundered the houses of every thing they could find. Their measures appear to have been concerted and conducted, with the utmost fecrecy and a degree of regularity and fystem not usual in people in such mean condition, and as if directed by men of a superior rank. Sums of money to a confiderable amount, have been levied and still continue to be levied upon the Roman Catholics in all parts of the kingdom, by fubscriptions and collections at their Chapels and elsewhere; some of which levies have been made, and still continue to be made under the authority of a printed circular letter which has been fent into all parts of the kingdom; a copy of which letter we think it our duty to infert herein.

- Sir,

"By an order of the sub-committee, dated the sisteenth of January, I had the honor to forward you a plan for a general subscription, which had for its object the raising a fund for defraying the heavy and growing expences incurred by the General Committee; in conducting the affairs of the Catholics of Ireland; as several militakes have occurred in the transmission of these letters, owing to my ignorance of the address of many of the delegates, I am directed to inform you, that such a plan is now in forwardness throughout the Kingdom. A measure so strongly enforced by necessary, and so consonant to justice, cannot fail to attract your very serious attention, the Committee having the most perfect reliance on your zeal, are therefore consident that you will use your best exertions to carry this necessary business into sull effect.

Dublin, February 5th, 1793. O Do homosa sassa orla

Signed by the Secretary of the fub-committee.

"P.S. It is hoped that you will acknowledge the receipt of this letter, stating at the same time whatever progress has been made in your district."

Several seditions and inflamatory papers published in Dublio, and dispersed through the country, seem to have countenanced and encouraged the defenders in their proceedings,

eedings, and it appears that letters were written by a member of the Committee of the Roman Catholics at Dublin, previous to the last summer assizes, to a person resident at Dundalt, in one of which the said person in the name of the laid Roman Catholic Committee, directed enquiries to be made, touching the offences of which the Defenders then in confinement were accused, which enquiries will be best explained, by inferring the faid letter in the words following.

Dublin, oth August, 1792.

" Dear S " I received this day your favour of the 5th inftant, enclofing the different papers respecting the business I wrote you. It is with much regret that I am obliged to reply, " that from the want of information on the subject matter of the indictments, no precife opinion can be formed " whether the alledged offence is or is not bailable; the "Committee are consequently in the dark as to the mea-" fures that should be adopted, nor can your exertions ac-" celerate (as it feems) that period until the affizes, when " you will be able to obtain office copies of the examinations. Mr. Nugent's brother left town this day truly "disconsolate, in not being able to effect something to-"wards the liberation of his kinsman, he however did his best in the affair. "I am, dear Sir,

"your obedient Servant, " John Sweetman." of astronomy A product a Manager of

P. S. If any new occurrence thould happen, be good te as liet so

" enough to inform me of it."

And it does appear that the faid person to whom the fait letter was addressed at Dunitally did employ at a confiderable expence, an agent and counfel to act for deveral perforts who were accused of being Defenders, and were indicted for offences committed by them in the county of Louth, one of which offenders appears to be particularly named in the above letter. But the committee think it their duty to state, that nothing appeared before them which could lead them to believe that the body of the Roman Catholics in this kingdom were concerned in promoting or countenancing fuch diffurbances, or that they were privy to this applica-tion of any part of the money which had been levied upon them, however furpicious the conduct of ill-difpored thellviduals

widuals of their persuasions, resident in Dublin may have been. If all the magistrates in the disturbed counties had sollowed the spirited example of the sew, who, much to their honour, exerted themselves with vigour and courage to support the laws, the committee are persuaded that these disturbances might have been suppressed; but instead of doing so, much the greater part of them remained inactive. The committee are of opinion that the best means of restoring permanent tranquillity in the disturbed counties, would be to procure a sufficient number of active, resolute and steady magistrates therein, who would exert themselves to maintain the public peace, and to cut off from these deluded people, all hope or expectation of apport or defence arising from a common fund to be levied upon persons of

their communion.

An unufual ferment has for some months past disturbed feveral parts of the north, particularly the town of Belfast and the county of Antrim, it is kept and encouraged by feditious papers and pamphlets of the most dangerous tendency, printed at very cheap and inconsiderable rates in Dublin and Belfast, which issue almost daily from certain focieties of men or clubs in both these places, calling themfelves committees under various descriptions, and carrying on a constant correspondence with each other. These publications are circulated amongst the people with the utmost industry, and appear to be calculated to defame the Government and Parliament, and to render the people diffatisfied with their condition and with the laws. conduct of the French is shamefully extolled, and recommended to the public View as an example for imitation; hopes and expectations have been held up of their affiftance by a descent upon this kingdom, and prayers have been offered up at Belfast from the pulpit, for the fuccess of their arms, in the presence of military affociations which have been newly levied and arrayed in that town. A body of men affociated themselves in Dublin under the title of the first national battalion, their uniform is copied from the French, green turned up with white, white waikcoat and striped trowsers, gilt buttons impressed with a harp and letters importing " First National Battalion" no Crown but a device over the harp of a cap of Liberty upon a pike; two pattern coats were left at two shops in Dublin. Several bodies of men have been collected in different parts of the North, armed and disciplined under officers chosen by themselves, and compoled

composed mostly of the lowest classes of the people. These bodies are daily encreasing in numbers and force; they have exerted their best endeavours to procure military men of experience to act as their officers; fome of them having expressly stated that there were men enough to be had, but that officers were what they wanted. Stands of arms and gunpowder to a very large amount, much above the common confumption, have been fent within thefe few months past to Belfast and Newry, and orders given for a much greater quantity, which it appears could be wanted only for military operations. At Belfast, bodies of men in arms are drilled and exerced for feveral hours almost every night by candle-light, and attempts have been made to feduce the foldiery, which, much to the honour of the King's forces, have proved ineffectual. The declared object of these military bodies is to procure a reform of Parliament, but the obvious intention of most of them appears to be to overawe the Parliament and the Government, and to dictate to both. The Committee forbear mentioning the names of feveral persons, lest it should in any manner affect any criminal profecution, or involve the personal safety of any man who has come forward to give them information. The refult of their inquiries is, that in their opinion it is incompatible with the public fafety and tranquillity of this kingdom, to permit bodies of men in arms to affemble when they pleafe, without any legal authority; and that the existence of a self-ereated representative body of any description of the King's subjects, taking upon itself the government of them, and levying taxes or fubicriptions, to be applied at the difcretion of such representative body, or of persons deputed by them, is also incompatible with the public safety and tranquillity.

To which the House agreed.

Dublin Cafile, 3d March, 1797.

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SIR

I am commanded by my Lord Lieutenant to acquaine you, that from the information received by his Excellency with respect to various parts of the North of Ireland, additional measures to those hitherto employed for preserving the public peace, are become necessary. It appears that in the

the counties of Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Derry and Done gal, fecret and treasonable offociations still continue to an alarming degree, and that the persons concerned in these affociations are attempting to defeat all the exertions of the loyal and well disposed, by the means of terror; that they chreaten the lives of all who shall venture, from regard to their duty and oath of allegiance, to discover their treasons; that they affemble in great numbers by night, and by threats and force difarm the peaceable inhabitants; that they have fired on his Majesty's justices of the peace when endeavouring to apprehend them in their nocturnal robberies; that they threaten by papers, letters, and names, the persons of those who shall in any manner resist or oppose them; that in their nightly excursions for the purpose of disarming his Majesty's loyal subjects, they disguise their persons and countenances; that they endeavour to collect great quantities of arms in concealed hiding places; that they have cut down great numbers of trees on the effates of the gentry, for the purpose of making pikes; that they have stolen great quantities of lead for the purpose of calting bullets; that they privately by night exercise themselves in the practice of arms; that they endeavour to intimidate persons from joining the yeomanry corps established by law in order to refist a foreign enemy; that they refule to employ in manufacrures those who inlift in the faid corps; that they not only threaten but ill-treat the persons of the yeomanry, and even attack their houses by night, and proceed to the lurbarous extremity of delibarate and fhocking murder, as was exemplified in their recent attack, and murder by night, of Mr. Comyns of Newtown Ards, and that they profess a resolution to affift the enemies of his Majesty, if they should be enabled to land in this kingdom.

It further appears, that these disturbances and outrages exist and even increase, as well in the districts which have

been proclaimed, as in other parts of the country.

In order therefore to reduce the persons engaged in the aforesaid treasonable associations, and guilty of the said atrocious outrages, to subordination to the laws, and to give considence to the well disposed among his Majesty's subjects, and security to their properties and their lives, and to prevent any assistance being given to the enemy by the disloyal and disasfected. His excellency has commanded me to communicate to you his positive orders, that you take the most immediate and decisive measures for disposing of the mili-

tars force under your command, aided by the yeomanry corps, for immediately difarming all persons who shall not bear his Majesty's commission, or are acting under persons so commissioned, or persons holding commissions under the authority of the yeomanry act, or persons acting under officers so commissioned, and after making such disposition, you are required to carry such disarming into effect.

His Excellency gives you this full authority, in order to give your diferetion the greatest latitude, relying at the same time on your prudence and discernment in the exercise of it, so that the peaceable and well affected may be protected against the evil begins of those who have threatened their

lives and property with destruction.

His Excellency further authorizes you to employ force against any persons assembled in arms, not legally authorized so to be, to disperse all tumultuous assemblies of persons, though they may not be in arms, without waiting for the sanction and assistance of the civil authority, if in your opinion the peace of the realm or the safety of his Majesty's saithful subjects may be endangered by waiting for such au-

thority.

His Excellency further authorizes you to confider those parts of the country where the outrages before stated have been committed, or where they shall arise, as being in a fate that requires all the measures of exertion and precaution which a country depending upon military force alone for its protection would require; and you are therefore required, to flation your troops with a view to interrupt communication between those whom you may have reason to fuspect of evil designs; to establish patroles on the high roads or other passes, and to stop all persons passing and repassing after certain hours of the night, and in order completely to carry into effect any orders or regulations, which in the circumstances of the case may be considered by you as necessary. You are authorized to iffue notices stating. the regulations, and calling upon his Majesty's subjects to be aiding and affifting therein.

To Lieut. Gen, Leake. T. P.

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Dublin Cafile, 18th May, 170

MY LORD;

The Lord Lieutenant and Council having judged it expedient to call upon his Majesty's troops to exert their utmost force to suppress a feditious and traiterous conspiracy of persons stiling themselves United Irishmen, I am commanded by his Excellency to transmit to your Lordship a copy of the proclamation iffued on this fubject, and to defire that your Lordship will iffue the necessary orders to the troops under your command in confequence thereof. His Excellency has directed me to represent to your Lordship, that as the traiterous and treasonable designs of these conspirators extend to the subversion of the constitution and government, it will be necessary to take measures of general precaution, fo that the troops may be prepared to act, whenever it becomes necessary to have recourse to their exertions. In those parts of the kingdom where these designs have been manifested by acts of open violence, it will be necessary to give the officers of his Majesty's troops more precise directions for their conduct. In fuch parts of the kingdom as have been disturbed by nocturnal depredations, where the lives of his Majesty's loyal subjects have been endangered by persons collected in arms, attacking and firing upon their houses, and where assemblies of persons have been collected for the purpose of unlawfully cutting down trees, or perpetrating other acts of outrage, military precaution should be adopted for the security of the lives and property of his Majesty's loyal subjects, and opposing by the most effectual means fuch daring acts of violence.

Diligent enquiry thould be made respecting any concealed arms or ammunition, and for pikes, and pike handles, and upon information thereof, officers commanding parties

should be directed to search for and seize the same.

Any persons armed with pikes or other weapons, in refistance of his Majesty's troops, are to be considered as rebels and treated accordingly. All persons exercising themselves in the use of arms, under persons not holding his Majesty or the Lord Lieutenant's commission, are to be disarmed and apprehended, and in case of resistance to be treated as rebels, and as it appears to be a part of the system of these conspirators to take the opportunity of sunerals and other occasions to assemble considerable numbers of persons, the officers of his Majesty's army should be directed in pursuand of this proclamation to watch all fuch affemblies, and if from their number or other circumstances the public peace should appear to be endangered, they will disperse them; and as various attempts have been made to seduce his Majesty's troops from their duty and allegiance, you will direct all persons of suspicious appearance, who shall come within the lines of any encampment, barrack, or other stations of his Majesty's troops; to be detained.

And his Excellency further defires that your Lordship will, from time to time, communicate such instructions to the officers of his Majesty's troops, as you shall deem best adapted, for carrying into effect his Excellency's proclama-

tion, and as local exigencies may demand.

I have the honour to be, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,
Humble servant,
To Earl Carbambion.
THOMAS PELHAM.

To Earl Carbampton, Commander in Chief.

C SER

In obedience to the order of the Lord Lieutenant in Council, it is the Commander in Chiefs commands, that the military do act without waiting for directions from the civil magistrates, in dispersing any tumultuous unlawful assemblies of persons, threatening the peace of the realm and the safety of the lives and properties of his Majesty's loyal subjects wheresoever collected.

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